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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

THE POURTRAICTURE OF HIS SACRED MAIESTY IN HIS SOLITVDES AND SVFFERINGS.

Rom. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mali pati, Regium est.

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Mary Papworth's Book, 1720.

Εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ.

BIBLIOTHECA

1. *Vpon His Majestes calling this last Parliament.*

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advice, and neceſſitie of My affairs, then by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crowne, as beſt pleaſing to my People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparkes, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to convene for ſome yeares, I hope to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to modeſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſs all publick grievancies in Church and State, I hoped by My freedome and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings, & miſcarriages in this: In which, as I feared, affaires would meet with ſome paſſion and prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould find leaſt of them in My ſelfe; not doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any Factions.

I was, indeed, ſorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in many places, yet hoping that the grevitie and diſcretion of

other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guiding some mens welmeaning zeale by such rules of moderation as are best both to preserve and restore the health of all States, and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self; who knowing best the largeness of My owne Heart towards My Peoples good and just contentment, pleased My selfe most in that good and firme understanding, which would hence grow betweene Me and My People.

All Jealousies being laid aside, My owne and My Childrens Interests gave Mee many obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of My Subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and safetie, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen My self in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gaine but a recompence in My Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissnes in Church and State, had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practice, but supply what was defective in the constitution: No man having a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Order, then My selfe; whom it most concernes both in pietie and policie; as knowing, that, No flames of civill dissentions are

more

more dangerous then thoſe which make Religious pretenſious the grounds of Factions.

I reſolved to reform, what I ſhould by free and full advice in Parliament be convinced to be amiſs; and to grant whatever My Reaſon and Conſcience told Me was fit to be deſired; I wiſh I had kept My ſelfe within thoſe bounds, and not ſuffered My own Judgement to have been over-borne in ſome things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had leſs betrayed My ſelf, and My Kingdoms, to thoſe advantages, which ſome men ſought for, who wanted nothing but power and occaſion to do miſchiefe.

But our ſinnes being ripe there was no preventing of Gods Juſtice, from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which we robbed him of in our Proſperitie.

For thou (O Lord) haſt made us ſee, that Reſolutions of future Reforming doe not alwaies ſatisfie thy Juſtice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miſcarriages.

Our ſinnes have overlaid our hopes; Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy judgements, and haſt ſhewed us how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee; Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us which we have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our ſinnes, Thou giveſt us cauſe to repent of thoſe Remedies we too late apply.

Yet do I not Repent of My calling this laſt Parli-

ament; because ô Lord, I did it with an upright intention to Thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miseries which have ensued upon Me and my Kingdomes, are the Just effects of thy displeasure upon us, and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enjoy them

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod as well as thy staffe may comfort us: Then shall we dare to account them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy children; I shall have no cause to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Me and My People unfeignedly to repent of the sinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could be with our sinnes.

O thou Soveraign goodnesse and wisdome who overruleſt all our Counsels; over-rule also all our hearts; That the worst things we suffer by thy Justice, the better we may be by thy mercy.

As our sinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyson, so let thy Grace turn our Poysons into Antidotes.

As the sinnes of our Peace disposed us to this unhappy Warre, so let this Warre prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesome Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdome of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours sake, Amen.

2. *Vpon the Earle of* Strafford *Death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman, whoſe great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then aſhamed to employ him in the greateſt affaires of State.

For thoſe were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great erours, and many enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good ſtore, while moving in ſo high a ſphear, and ſo vigorous a luſtre, he muſt needs (as the Sun) raiſe many envious exhalations, which condenſed by a popular *odium*, were capable to caſt a cloud upon the brighteſt merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Judgement approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the neceſſities of Times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his own diſpoſition to any hight and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any ſuch criminouſneſſe in him, as willingly to expoſe his life to the ſtroke of Juſtice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the buſineſſe of that unfortnate Earle when betweene My owne unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſitie (as ſome told Me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome People; I wys perſwaded by thoſe, that I thinke wiſhed Me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, than what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with Men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed, I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent

ſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My Judgement I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſigne of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a feare of Man, then of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no Man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne Conſcience, thereby to ſalve State-ſores; to calme the ſtormes of popular diſcontents, by ſtirring up a tempeſt in a mans owne boſome.

Nor hath Gods Juſtice failed in the event and ſad conſequences, to ſhew the World the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man periſh (though unjuſtly) than the People be diſpleaſed, or deſtroyed.*

For, in all likelyhood, I could never have ſuffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Straffords* Innocencie, at leaſt by denying to *ſign* that deſtructive *Bill*, according to that juſtice, which My Conſcience ſuggeſted to Me, than I have done ſince I gratified ſome mens unthankfull importunities with ſo cruell a favour. And I obſerved, that thoſe, who counſelled Me to ſigne that Bill, have been ſo farre from receiving the rewards of ſuch ingratiatings with thē People, that no men have been haraſſed and cruſhed more than they: He onely hath been leaſt vexed by them, who counſelled Me, not to conſent againſt the vote of My owne Conſcience; I hope God hath forgiven Me and them, the ſinfull raſhneſſe of that buſineſſe.

To

To which being in My ſoule ſo fully conſcious, thoſe Judgements God hath pleaſed to ſend upon Me, are ſo much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath ſanctified ſo to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjuſt Act, (for ſo it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me. That the beſt rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Juſtice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conſcience before the preſervation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My reſolutions againſt all thoſe violent importunities, which ſince have ſought to gaine a like conſent from Me, to Acts, wherein My Conſcience is unſatisfied, then the ſharp touches I have had for what paſſed Me, in My Lord of *Straffords* buſineſſe.

Not that I reſolved to have employed him in My affaires, againſt the advice of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whoſe Guiltleſneſſe I was better aſſured, than any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected againſt him ſo cleare, as after a long and faire hearing to give convincing ſatisfaction to the major part of both Houſes, eſpecially that of the Lords, for whom ſcarce a third part were preſent, when the Bill paſſed that Houſe: And for the Houſe of Commons, many Gentlemen, diſpoſed enough to diminiſh My Lord of *Straffords* greatneſſe and power, yet unſatisfied of his guilt in Law, durſt not Condemne him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Poſting their Names, expoſed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then ſo exorbitant in their clamours *for Juſtice* (that is, to have both My ſelfe and the two Houſes Vote, and doe as they would have us)

us) that many ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning Party, than ſatisfied that of right they ought ſo to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, ſufficiently tells the World, that ſome remorſe touched even his moſt implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had very hard meaſure, and ſuch as they would be very loath ſhould be repeated to themſelves.

This tenderneſs and regret I find in my Soule, for having had any hand (and that very unwillingly God knowes) in ſhedding one mans blood unjuſtly (though under the colour and formalities of Juſtice, and pretences of avoyding publick miſchiefes) which may, I hope, be ſome evidence before God and Man, to all Poſterity, that I am farre from bearing juſtly the vaſt load and guilt of all that bloud which hath been ſhed in this unhappy Warre; which ſome men will needs charge on Me, to eaſe their owne Soules, who am, and ever ſhall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjuſtly, than to loſe My owne.

But thou, O God of infinite mercies, forgive Me that act of ſinfull compliance which hath greater aggravations upon Me than any man. Since I had not the leaſt temptation of envie, or malice againſt him, and by my place ſhould at leaſt ſo farre, have beene a preſerver of him, as to have denied my conſent to his deſtruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my tranſgreſſion, and my ſin is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud-guiltineſſe O God, thou God of my ſalvation, and my tongue ſhall ſing of thy righteouſneſſe.

Againſt

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Yet cast me not away from thy presence, purge me with the bloud of my Redeemer, and I shall be clean; wash me with that precious effusion, and I shall be whiter then snow.

Teach me to learn Righteousnesse by thy judgements, and to see my frailty in thy justice: while I was perswaded by shedding one mans bloud to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sinnes, brought upon me and my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to prefer justice, which is thy will, before all contrary clamours, which are but discoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to please them by displeasing thee: O never suffer me for any reason of State, to go against my Reason of Conscience which is highly to sinne against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou seest fit to deprive me of, yet restore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold me with thy free Spirit; which subjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Justice and Religion which shines in My Soul, for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Bloud, which speak better things; O make me, and my People to hear the voice of Joy and Gladnesse, that the boneswhich thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy Salvation.

3. *Vpon His Maieſties going to the Houſe of Commons.*

MY going to the Houſe of Commons to demand Juſtice upon the five Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exaſperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealouſies and feares; yea, and many of My friends reſented it as a motion riſing rather from Paſſion then Reaſon, and not guided with ſuch diſcretion, as the touchineſſe of thoſe times required.

But theſe men knew not the juſt motives, and pregnant grounds with which I thought my ſelfe ſo furniſhed, that there needed nothing to ſuch evidence, as I could have produced againſt thoſe I charged ſave onely a free and legall Triall, which was all I deſired.

Nor had I any temptation of diſpleaſure, or revenge againſt thoſe mens perſons, further then I had diſcovered thoſe (as I thought) unlawfull correſpondencies they had uſed, and engagements they had made, to emproyle my Kingdomes: of all which I miſſed but little to have produced Writings under ſome mens owne hands, who were the chiefe contrivers of the following Innovaſions.

Providence would not have it ſo, yet I wanted not probabilities as were ſufficient to raiſe jealouſies in any Kings Heart, who is not wholly ſtupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preſerve by calling in Queſtion halfe a dozen men, in a faire and legall way (which God knowes was all my deſigne) could have amounted to no worſe effect, had it ſucceeded, then either to doe Me, and my Kingdome right, in caſe they had been found guilty; or elſe to have

have cleared their Innocencie, and remove my ſuſpicions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſparke (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible meanes to quench it) ſoone kindled, all the World is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action, as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their Priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knowes, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times; ſo were my Followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my comming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me, if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me; For many People had (at that time) learned to thinke thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt Me, both by Words and Deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelfe, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their owne Conſciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to reſcue them from thoſe exact Tribunalls.

To

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, We muſt religiouſly appeale, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which ſhall re-judge what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future Commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands, the more is the pity.

But to over-awe the freedome of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſions upon them, was not at all My deſigne: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on My ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to beare the repulſe with patience, than to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou O Lord, art My Witneſſe in Heaven, and in my Heart: if I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickedneſſe in My thoughts.

Then let the enemy perſecute My ſoul and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances ſearching the heart, and trying the reines and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſinne in that matter; more then their Impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have done amiſſe, though

though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privy conspiracies, and open violence of bloody and unreasonable men, according to the uprightnesse of my heart, and the innocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause and maintain my right, O thou that sittest in the Throne, judging righly, that thy Servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

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4. *Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sinnes) more ominously presaging all these mischiefes, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soone after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, which yet wants not its terrour) but like an Earth-quake, shaking the very Foundations of all; than which, nothing in the World hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging Sea; so 'tis no lesse, that he restraines the madnesse of the people. Nor doth any thing portend more Gods displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence & clamors of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did, to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting some Members of both Houses, as they fancyed, or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude & unseemly deportments both in contemptuous words and actions, to My selfe and My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of ſhaking, as an ague, but a quotidian feaver, alwayes encreaſing to higher inflammation, impatient of any mitigation, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt thoſe fears which ſome men ſcared themſelves and others withall; when indeed nothing was more to be feared and leſse to be uſed by wiſe men, then thoſe tumultuary confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught firſt to petition, then to protect, then to dictate, at laſt to command and over-aw the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that is, all freedome of differing in Votes, and debating matters with reaſon and candour) muſt be taken away with theſe Tumults: By theſe muſt the Houſes be purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleaſe to count them) caſt out: By theſe the obſtinacy of men reſolved to diſcharge their Conſciences muſt be ſubdued; by theſe all factious, ſeditious, and ſchiſmaticall propoſalls againſt Government Eccleſiaſticall or Civil, muſt be backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had moſt mind to bring forth confuſion and ruine upon Church and State, uſed the midwifery of thoſe Tumults; whoſe riot and impatience was ſuch, that they would not ſtay the ripening and ſeaſon of Counſels, or faire production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberateneſſe befitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous cruelty, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, ſuch as their Inviters and Incouragers moſt fancyed.

Yea, ſo enormous and deteſtable were their outrages, that no ſober man could be without an infinite ſhame and ſorrow to ſee them ſo tolerated, and connived at by ſome, countenanced, incouraged, and applauded by others. What

What good man had not rather want any thing he moſt deſired, for the Publick good, then obtaine it by ſuch unlawfull and irreligious meanes? But mens paſſions and Gods directions ſeldome agree; violent deſignes and motions muſt have ſutable engines, ſuch as too much attend their owne ends, ſeldome confine themſelves to Gods meanes. Force muſt crowd in, what Reaſon will not lead.

Who were the chiefe Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to ſend for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turne their clamorous importunities, ſome men yet living are too conſcious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let theſe ſee, that thoſe were no fit meanes to be uſed for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no ſtrange thing for the Sea to rage, when ſtrong winds blow upon it; ſo neither for Multitudes to become inſolent, when they have Men of ſome reputation for parts and piety to ſet them on.

That which made their rudneſſe moſt formidable, was, That many Complaints being made, and Meſſages ſent by My ſelfe and ſome of both Houſes; yet no order for redreſſe could be obtained with any vigour and efficacy, proportionable to the malignity of that now far-ſpred diſeaſe, and predominant miſchiefe.

Such was ſome mens ſtupidity, that they feared no inconvenience: Others petulancy, that they joyed to ſee their betters ſhamefully outraged, and abuſed, while they knew their onely ſecuritie conſiſted in vulgar flattery: So inſenſible were they of Mine, or the two Houſes common ſafety and honours.

Nor could ever any order be obtained, impartially to examine, cenſure, and puniſh the knowne Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boaſt-

ed of the influence they had, and uſed to convoke thoſe Tumults as their advantages ſerved.

Yea, ſome (who ſhould have bin wiſer Stateſ-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeale, and Induſtrie; which to ſober men could ſeeme no better than that of the Devil, who *goes about ſeeking whom he may* deceive, and *devoure*.

I confeſſe, when I found ſuch a deafneſſe, that no Declaration from the Biſhops, who were firſt foulely inſolenced & aſſaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My ſelfe, could take place, for the due repreſſion of theſe Tumults; and ſecuring not onely Our freedome in Parliament, but Our very Perſons in the ſtreets; I thought My ſelfe not bound by My preſence, to provoke them to higher boldneſſe & contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimitie for any man for popular terrors to deſert his publique ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, & gains a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, than skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed, that I meditated a Warre, (when I went from *White-hall* onely to redeem My Perſon and Conſcience from violence;) God knowes, I did not then think of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive, that I would by ſo many former,

mer, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned My ſelfe, if I had purpoſed to engage in a Warre, which to decline by all means, I denied My ſelfe in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for withdrawing our ſelves from the dayly baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry & teare thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their paws? God, who is My ſole Judge, is My Witneſſe in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from my Houſe at *White-hall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable fair Quarter: I was reſolved to bear much, and did ſo; but I did not think My ſelfe bound to proſtitute the Majeſtie of my Place and Perſon, the ſafetie of my Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunitie moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancie.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given alreadie an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperatly guiltie) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is; Onely I believe the juſt Avenger of all diſorders, will in time make theſe men, and that City, ſee their ſin in the glaſſe of their puniſhment: 'Tis more then an even lay, that they may one day ſee themſelves puniſhed by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its firſt Election and Conſtitution, ſate full and free, the Members of both Houſes being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reaſon, honor, & Religion, they ſhould have bin; I doubt not but things would have bin ſo carryed, as would have given no leſſe content to all good men, then they wiſhed or expected.

For, I was reſolved to heare reaſon in all things, and to conſent to it ſo far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, ſo are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourſes to Publick Councels, turning all into diſorders and ſordid confuſions.

I am prone ſometimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have done) the ſad conſequences in all likelyhood, with Gods bleſſing, might have beene prevented. A Parliament would have beene welcome in any place; no place afforded ſuch confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened. But we muſt leave all to God, who orders our diſorders, and magnifies his wiſdome moſt, when our follies and miſeries are moſt diſcovered.

But thou, O Lord, art my refuge and defence, to thee I may ſafely flie, who ruleſt the raging of the Sea, and the madneſſe of the People.

The flouds, O Lord, the flouds are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelm me.

I look upon my ſinnes, and the ſins of my People, (which are the tumults of our ſouls againſt thee O Lord) as the juſt cauſe of theſe popular inundations which thou permitteſt to overbear all the banks of loyalty, modeſty, Lawes, Iuſtice and Religion.

But thou that gatheredſt the waters into one place, and madeſt the dry land to appear, and after didſt aſſwage the floud which drowned the world, by the word of thy power, Rebuke theſe beaſts of the people, and deliver me from the rudeneſſe and ſtrivings of the multitude.

Reſtore

Reſtore we beſeech thee unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpaſſionately to ſee the light of Reaſon, and Religion, and with all order and gravity to follow it, as it becomes men and Chriſtians; ſo ſhall we praiſe thy name, who art the God of Order and Counſell.

What man cannot, or will not repreſſe, thy omn potent Iuſtice can and will.

O Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely ſenſe and ſorrow for their great ſin, whom thou knoweſt guilty of raiſing or not ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders: Let ſhame here, and not ſuffering hereafter be their puniſhment.

Set bounds to our paſſions by Reaſon, to our errours, by Truth, to our ſeditions by lawes duly executed; and to our ſchiſmes by Charity, that we may be as thy Jeruſalem, *a City at unity in it ſelf.*

This grant, O my God, in thy good time for Ieſus Chriſt his ſake, Amen.

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5. *Vpon His Majeſties paſſing the Bill for the Trienniall Parliaments: And after ſettling this, during the pleaſure of the two Houſes.*

THat the World might be fully confirmed in My purpoſes at firſt, to contribute, what in Juſtice, Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, I could, to the Happy ſucceſſe of this Parliament, (which had in Me no other deſign but the Generall good of My Kingdomes) I willingly paſſed the BILL for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and ſeaſonable Phyſick, might (if well applyed) prevent any diſtempers from getting any head, or prevailing; eſpecially if

the remedy proved not a diſeaſe beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work, with convenient receſſes, for the firſt three yeares; But I did not imagine, that ſome men would thereby have occaſioned more work then they found to doe, by undoing ſo much as they found well done to their hands. Such is ſome mens activitie, that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then doe nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcantie to ſatisfie ſome mens feares, and compaſſe publique affaires; I was perſwaded to grant that BILL, of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes; which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the doore upon all preſent Jealouſies, and future miſtakes: I confeſſe, I did not thereby intend to ſhut My ſelfe out of doores, as ſome men have now requited Me.

True, It was an Act unparalell'd by any of my Predeceſſors; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extreme confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny My ſelfe in ſo high a point of my Prerogative.

For, good Subjects will never think it juſt, or fit, that My condition ſhould be worſe, by My bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events, if ſome men had knowne as well with moderation to uſe, as with earneſtneſſe to deſire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weale in tune, by preſerving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My intereſt

lies

lies more than any means, since by those laws, My rights as a King would be reserved no less than My Subjects; which is all I desired. More than the law gives Me I would not have, and lesse the meanest subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented Me of that setling Act; & many would needs perswade Me, I had cause so to do: but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honour, That the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted My self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gaine and confirme the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet despaire, but that God will still blesse Me with increase of it, when Men shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice; that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I thinke) not more princely than friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now onely miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the loyal & cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of honor & love to Me, or My Posterity, as may fully compensate both the Acts of my confidence & My sufferings for them; wich (God knows) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular pietie and religious strictnesse.

The injury of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load Me withall, as if I were a wil-

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full and reſolved Occaſioner of My owne and My Subjects miſeries; while (as they confidently, but (God knowes) falſly divulge) I repining at the eſtabliſhment of this Parliament, endeavoured by force and open hoſtility to undoe what by My Royall aſſent I had done. Sure it had argued a very ſhort ſight of things, and extreame fatuity of mind in Me, ſo farre to bind my owne hands at their requeſt, if I had ſhortly meant to have uſed a Sword againſt them. God knowes, though I had then a ſenſe of Injuries; yet ſuch, as to thinke them worth vindicating by a Warre: I was not then compelled, as ſince, to injure my ſelfe by their not uſing favours, with the ſame candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuſe all Acts of Grace, and to turne them into wantonneſſe; but I thought at length their owne feares, whoſe black arts firſt raiſed up thoſe turbulent Spirits, would force them to conjure them downe againe.

Nor if I had juſtly reſented any indignities put upon Me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken juſt revenge in an Hoſtile and Warlike way upon thoſe, whom I knew ſo well fortified in the love of the meaner ſort of the People, that I could not have given My Enemies greater, and more deſired advantages againſt Me, then by ſo unprincely Inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Armes, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſettled by an Act of Parliament?

God knowes, I longed for nothing more than that My ſelfe, and My Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of my many condeſcendings.

It had been a Courſe full of ſinne, as well as of Hazard, and diſhonour for Me to goe about the cut-

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ting up of that by the Sword, which I had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as I thought) to My Subjects content, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie: If ſome men had not feared where no feare was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcaring others.

I thanke God, I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of My owne Heart, in paſſing that great BILL, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times; that although I may ſeeme leſſe a Polititian to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had I any reſervations in My own Soule, when I paſſed it; nor repentings after, till I ſaw that My letting ſome men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to caſt Me downe head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, Monarchy it ſelfe, together with Me, could not but be daſhed in pieces, by ſuch a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them ſee at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devill ſhewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of ſinfull ingratitude and diſhonour, which hazards a Soule worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preſerved Me, and made Me to ſee, That it is no ſtrange thing for men, left to their owne paſſions, either to doe much evill themſelves, or abuſe the over-much goodneſſe of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the moſt deſperate and incurable diſeaſe.

I cannot ſay properly that I repent of that Act, ſince I have no reflections upon it as a ſin of my will, though an errour of too charitable a Judgement: Onely

Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evill, because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now I need a Heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy Grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings as the fulfullings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others fears, I have raised Mine owne; and by settling them, have unsettled My selfe.

Thus have they requited Me evill for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord, be thou my Pilot in this darke and dangerous storme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

'Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe in the love & confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve me amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse My acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But favours from Me can make others more guilty then My Selfe may be of misusing those many and great ones, which thou, O Lord hast conferred on me.

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I beseech thee give me and them such repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such grace as we may not abuse.

Make me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of me to resolve with a reforming displeasure upon my offences against Thee.

So, although by my sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

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6. *Upon His Majesties retirement from* Westminster.

With what unwillingnesse I withdrew from *Westminster* let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced by Sea to a storme; yet better do so, then venture splitting or sinking on a Lee shore.

I stayed at *Whitehall*, til I was driven away by shame more than fear; to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldnesse to demand any thing, and not leave either My self or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reason, and Conscience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be over-voted by the major part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedome. Whose agreeing Votes were not by any Law or Reason conclusive to My Judgement; nor can they include, or carry with them My consent, whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a KING, and the gene-

generall good of My People. I ſee that as many men they are ſeldome of one mind; and I may oft ſee, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to ſober and moderate minds, how deſireous I was to give all juſt content, when I agreed to ſo many Bills, which had been enough to ſecure and ſatisfie all: If ſome mens Hydropick inſatiableneſſe had not learned to thirſt the more by how much more they dranke; whom no Fountaine of Royall bounty was able to overcome; ſo reſolved they ſeemed, either utterly to exhauſt it, or barbarouſly to obſtruct it.

Sure it ceaſes to be Councell; when not Reaſon is uſed, as to men to perſwade; but force and terrour as to beaſts, to drive and compell men to aſſent to what ever tumultuary patrones ſhall project. He deſerves to be a ſlave without pity, or redemption, that is content to have the rationall Soveraignty of his Soule, and liberty of his will and words ſo captivated.

Nor doe I thinke My Kingdomes ſo conſiderable as to preſerve them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot be denyed Me as a King, becauſe it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Chriſtian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to conſent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which ſubjects Me only to God, ſo farre as by Reaſon or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Tittle of a King, if it ſhould carry ſuch a vaſſalage with it, as not to ſuffer Me to uſe My Reaſon and Conſcience, in which I declare as a King, to like or diſlike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majeſty of the Crowne of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutiſh formality, to conſnet to what

what ever its Subjects Parliament ſhall require, as ſome men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voyce as King, they are not aſhamed to ſeeke to deprive Me of the liberty of uſing My Reaſon with a good Conſcience, which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on the publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever My ſelfe, as King, or the Houſe of Peeres with Me ſhould, not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſſe. I thinke My Oath fully diſcharged in that poynt, by My Governing onely by ſuch Lawes, as My People with the Houſe of Peeres have Choſen, and My ſelfe have conſented to. I ſhall never thinke My ſelfe conſcientiouſly tied to goe as oft againſt My Conſcience, as I ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſalls, which My Reaſon, in Juſtice, Honour, and Religion bids Me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the onely man that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe His owne Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if My diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and uncharitably avowed out of errour, opinion, activeneſſe, weakneſſs or wilfulneſſe, and what they call Obſtinancy in Me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on My mind;) yet can no man thinke it other then the Badge and Method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, and importunate obtruſi-

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ons of violence, to have the mist of His Errour and Passion dispelled, which is shadow of Reason, and must serve those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavours to see the best reason of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reason: The uprightnesse of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding. If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can be no fault in him to steere his course by such stars as doe best appeare to him. It argues rather those men to be conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carry on the weaknesse of their Councells, and Propositions. I may, in the Truth and Uprightenesse of My heart, protest before God and Men; that I never wilfully opposed, or denyed any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason I might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My Judgement so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things, where not absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in poynt of Honour was to be considered. I chose rather to deny My selfe, then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what I saw but convenient for My selfe.

For I can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which I conceive My selfe to be Master; but in what concernes Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crowne, together with the generall good of My King-

Kingdomes; (all which I am bound to preſerve as much as morally lies in me;) here I am and ever ſhall be fixt and reſolute, nor ſhall any man gain My conſent to that, wherein My Heart gives My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I be brought to affirm that to Men, which in my Conſcience I deny before God. I will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of thorns with My Saviour, than to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Me) for one of lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, & oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when inſtead of Reaſon and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of parties, and flows from the partialities of private wills & paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, than to prefer His Conſcience before His Kingdoms.

O my God preſerve thy ſervant in this Native, Rationall and Religious freedome; for this I believe is thy will that we ſhould maintain: who, though thou doſt juſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings and wills to thine; whoſe wiſdome and goodneſſe can neither erre, nor miſguide us and ſo farre to deny our carnall reaſon in order to thy ſacred Myſteries and commands, that we ſhould believe and obey rather than diſpute them; yet doſt thou expect from us, onely ſuch a reaſonable ſervice of thee, as not to doe any thing for thee againſt our Conſciences; and as to the deſires of men, enjoyneſt us to try all things by the touch-ſtone of Reaſon and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill Juſtice; and to declare our conſents to that onely which our Iudgements approve.

Thou knowest O Lord how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affaires of my Kingdomes at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have beene content for their good, to deny my self, in what thou hast subjected to my disposall.

O let not the unthankfull importunities, and tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray me to that degenerous and unmanly slavery, which should make me strengthen them by my consent in those things which I think in my conscience to be against thy glory, the good of my Subjects, and the discharge of my own duty in Reason and Justice.

Make me willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon me, rather then commit the least sinne against my Conscience.

Let the just liberties of my people be (as well they may) preserved in fair, and equall wayes, without the slavery of my soul.

Thou that hast invested me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer me not to subject my Reason to other mens passions, and designes, which to me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: so shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of my heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead me in the way of Truth and Justice, for these I know will bring me at last to peace and happinesse with thee, though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for my Saviours sake.

7. Upon

7. Upon the Queenes departure, and absence out of England.

ALthough I have much cause to be troubled at My Wifes departure from Me, and out of My Dominions; yet not Her absence, so much, as the scandall of that necessity which drives Her away, doth afflict Me. That She should be compelled by My own Subjects, and those pretending to be Protestants, to withdraw for Her safety: This being the first example of any Protestant Subjects that have taken up arms against their King, a Protestant: For I look upon this now done in England, as another Act of the same tragedy which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions (so little to the adorning of the Protestant Profession) may occasion a farther alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and I pray he would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to be any obstruction to Her judgement; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to be imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firme to their former setled Principles and Lawes.

I am sorry My relation to so deserving a Lady should be any occasion of Her danger and affliction;

whoſe merits would have ſerved her for a Protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knowes not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom I yet thinke few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelfe. The fault is, that ſhe is My Wife.

All Juſtice then as well as affection commands Me, to ſtudy her Security, who is onely in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhip-wrackt, ſo as ſhe may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but halfe, if ſhe be preſerved: In whoſe memory, and hopefull Poſterity, I may yet ſurvive the malice of My enemies, although they ſhould be ſatiated with My blood.

I muſt leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to puniſh the faults of Princes, and no leſſe ſeverely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by thoſe who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that ſafety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vain expected from thoſe, that diſpute their Loyalty: Nor can it be ſafe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are ſhaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faſter hold on their Religion.

'Tis pity ſo noble and peaceſull a Soule ſhould ſee, much more ſuffer, the rudeneſſe of thoſe who muſt make up their want of Juſtice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her ſympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her

her vertues ſhine with greater luſtre, as ſtars in the darkeſt nights: and aſſure the envious world, that ſhe loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can eaſily forgive, ſince We doe not much blame the unkindneſſe of the Generality, and Vulgar; for We ſee God is pleaſed to try both our patience, by the moſt ſelfe-puniſhing ſinne, the Ingratitude of thoſe, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themſelves againſt Us; and thoſe of Our owne Houſhold are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their ſinne to their charge: who think to ſatisfie all obligations to duty, by their Corban of Religion; and can leſſe endure to ſee, than to ſinne againſt their benefactours as well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of My enemies is ſo farre veniall, as it was neceſſary to their deſignes, by ſcandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to ſeeke to drive her out of My Kingdomes; leſt by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, ſhe ſhould have converted to, or retained in their Love, and Loyalty, all thoſe whom they had a purpoſe to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My owne Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My ſelfe.

Thou, O Lord, whoſe Iuſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter us, let thy mercy, in thy due time, reunite us in earth, if it be thy will; however bring us both at laſt, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preserve us from the hands of our despitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.

Though we differ in some things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporall infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sincerities of our affections, which desire to seeke, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy selfe, and Christ crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldst have us to know, in order to thy glory, our publique relations, and our Soules eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to be knowne nor u beliefe, or disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hinderance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have Her to learn, nor any hardning of Her in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to Her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I professe be represented to her Judgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesse; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty, and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as thine, that she may believe, love and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and Eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy selfe, and obtained through Jesus Christ.

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8. *Vpon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the first overt Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the losse of My Kingdomes.

God knowes, it affected Me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sinne, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to beare this, and much more with pacience: But I fore-saw they could hardly containe themselves within the compasse of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was soone after to over-spread the whole Kingdome, and cast all into disorder and darknesse.

For 'tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyall undertakers; That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun than not carryed on; for they thinke the retreat more dangerous than the aſſault, and hate repentance more than perſeverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to ſee clearely through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother than oyle, but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it My beſt policie (with patience) to beare what I could not remedie: And in this (I thanke God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdaine, or emotion of paſſion tranſported Me, by the indignitie of his carriage, to doe or ſay any thing, unbeſeeming My ſelf, or unſutable to that temper; which, in greateſt injuries, I think, beſt becomes a Chriſtian, as comming neareſt to the great example of Chriſt.

And indeed, I deſire alwayes more to remember I am a Chriſtian, than a King; for what the Majeſtie of one might juſtly abhorre, the charitie of the other is willing to beare; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Chriſtian teacheth to forgive: Keeping in compaſſe all thoſe impotent paſſions, whoſe exceſſe injures a man, more than his greateſt enemies can; for theſe give their malice a full impreſſion on our ſoules, which otherwayes cannot reach very farre, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but obſerve, how God not after ſo pleaded, and avenged My cauſe, in the eye of the world, that the moſt wilfully blinde cannot avoid the diſpleaſure to ſee it, and with ſome remorſe and feare

to

to owne it as a notable ſtroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any language or ſecret imprecation of Mine, onely blaſted with the Conſcience of his owne wickedneſſe, and falling from one inconſtancy to another, not long after paies his owne and his elder Sonnes Heads, as forfeitures of their diſloyalty, to thoſe men, from whom ſurely he might have expected another reward than thus to divide their Heads from their Bodies, whoſe hearts with them were divided from their KING.

Nor is it ſtrange, that they who imployed them at firſt in ſo high a ſervice, and ſo ſucceſſefull to them, ſhould not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had ſo much premerited of them: For, Apoſtacy unto Loyalty ſome men account the moſt unpardonable ſinne.

Nor did a ſolitary vengeance ſerve the turne, the cutting off one Head in a Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Common-weale. The eldeſt Sonne muſt be involved in the puniſhment, as he was infected with the ſinne of the Father, againſt the Father of his Country: Root and Branch God cuts off in one day.

Theſe obſervations are obvious to every fancy: God knowes, I was ſo farre from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were ſuch as was able to give the greateſt thirſt for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who firſt employed him againſt Me) that I ſo farre pitied him, as I thought he at firſt acted more againſt the light of his Conſcience, than I hope other men doe in the ſame Cauſe.

For,

For, he was never thought to be of that ſuperſtitious ſowreneſſe, which ſome men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which ſo darkens their judgement, that they cannot ſee any thing of Sinne and Rebellion in thoſe meanes they uſe, with intents to reforme to their Models what they call Religion, who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but gliſter with a ſhew of zeale and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and ſo moſt lyable to thoſe downe-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloake or cheat of Religion to impoſe upon themſelves, or others.

That which makes me more pitie him is, that after he began to have ſome inclinations towards a repentance for his ſinne, and reparation of his dutie to Me, He ſhould be ſo unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Juſtice, and not My Mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I thinke Clemencie a debt, which we ought to pay to thoſe that crave it, when we have cauſe to believe they would not after abuſe it; ſince God himſelf ſuffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy, but onely prayers and prayſes.

Poore Gentleman, hee is now become a notable monument of unproſperous diſloyaltie, teaching the world, by ſo ſad and unfortunate a ſpectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carryes alwayes its own vengeance, as an unſeparable ſhadow with it; and thoſe oft prove the moſt fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the firſt Imployers in the ſervice.

After-times will diſpute it, whether *Hotham* were more

more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*; though 'tis certaine, that no punishment so staines a mans Honour, as wilfull preparations of unworthy actions; which, besides the conscience of the sinne, brands with most indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to posteritie, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, as his death hath satisfied the injurie he did to me, so let me not by it gratifie any passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more than the sinne against thee.

Thou, indeed, without any desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischiefe to returne on his owne head, and his violent dealing to come downe on his owne pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sonnes of men, and taken the matter into thine owne hands; that men may know it was thy worke, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I doe not, I dare not say, So let mine enemies perish, O Lord! yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it be thy blessed will.

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercy; yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who beare most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majesty, which I hope thy mercy hath forgiven me.

Nor lay not their sinnes (who yet live) to their

charge

charge for condemnation, but to their conſciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunderbolt, which hath been ſo ſevere a puniſhment to one, be a terrour to all.

Diſcover to them their ſinne, who know not they have done amiſſe, and ſcare them from their ſinne, that ſin of malicious wickedneſſe.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may eſcape the ſtrokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, eſtabliſh the throne of thy Servant in mercy, and truth meeting together; let my Crowne ever flouriſh in righteouſneſſe, and peace, kiſſing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who haſt taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies for thy ſake; who haſt prevented us with offertures of thy love, even we which were thine enemies, and haſt ſent thy Sonne Jeſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him

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9 *Upon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the King.*

I Find, that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was when they forced Me to leave *White-hall*: what Tumults could not do, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted and enrolled to a better order, but is bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may, as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling

bling Me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancie, as to feare him more than man; and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before any outward tranquillitie.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince me? O my Soule! be of good courage, they confeſſe their knowne weakneſſe, as to Truth, and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thankes that I am to receive, for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious KING, but by My ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice, for a King that loves his people, and deſires their love, either to kill his owne Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazzards and miſeries of Civill Warre in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdome, the fruits I muſt now reape, after 17 yeares living and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill counſell of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſſe of others, envying the publick ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable neceſſities of State, than any propenſitie, I hope of my ſelfe, either to injuriouſneſſe or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud, during my Reigne, have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My Luſt, Anger, or Covetouſneſſe?

What

What Widowes or Orphans teares can witneſſe a-gainſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be aven-ged with My own bloud? For the hazards of Warre are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any reſpect of Perſons.

In vaine is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied, to ſee what ground of Juſtice is alledged for this Warre a-gainſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfacti-on) either prevent, or ſoone end ſo unnaturall a mo-tion, which (to many men) ſeemes rather the pro-ductions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition, and Faction, (which eaſily finde, or make cauſes of quar-rell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Juſtice, or Parliamentarie Priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt be able to avoid and anſwer before God in My owne Conſci-ence, however ſome men are not willing to believe Me, leſt they ſhould condemne themſelves.

When I firſt withdrew from *White-hall*, to ſee if I could allay the inſolencie of the Tumults, (the not ſuppreſſing of which, no account in Reaſon can be given (where an orderly Guard was granted but onely to oppreſſe both Mine and the Two Houſes freedome of declaring and Voting accord-ing to every mans Conſcience) what obſtructions of Juſtice were there further then this, That what ſeemed juſt to one man, might not ſeeme ſo to another?

Whom did I by power protect againſt the Juſtice of Parliament?

That

That ſome men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their tryall, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppreſſors, and Judgers of their Judges, was from that inſtinct, which is in all creatures, to preſerve themſelves. If any others refuſed to appeare, where they evidently ſaw the current of Juſtice and Freedome ſo ſtopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawfull Judges either durſt not come to the Houſes, or not declare their ſenſe with libertie and ſafetie; it cannot ſeeme ſtrange to any reaſonable man, when the ſole expoſing them to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cauſe could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults over-borne the Freedome and Honour of the two Houſes; had they aſſerted their Juſtice againſt them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Conſciences: I know no man ſo deare to Me, whom I had the leaſt inclination to adviſe either to withdraw himſelfe, or denie appearing upon their Summons, to whoſe Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to ſtand.

Diſtempers (indeed) were riſen to ſo great a height, for want of timely repreſſing the vulgar inſolencies; that the greateſt guilt of thoſe which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be over-aw'd with the Tumults, and their Patrones; nor compelled to abet by their ſuffrages, or preſence; the deſignes of thoſe men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approve their generous conſtancie and cautiouſneſſe; further then this,

this, I did never allow any mans refractorineſſe againſt the Priviledges and Orders of the Houſes; to whom I wiſhed nothing more, then Safetie, Fullneſſe, and Freedome.

But the truth is, ſome men, and thoſe not many, deſpairing in faire and Parliamentarie wayes by free deliberations, and Votes to gaine the concurrence of the major part of Lords and Commons, betooke themſelves, by the deſperate activitie of factious Tumults, to ſift and terrifie away all thoſe Members whom they ſaw to be of contrarie mindes to their purpoſes.

How oft was the buſineſſe of the Biſhops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houſe of Peeres, carryed for them by farre the major part of Lords: Yet after five repulſes, contrarie to all Order and Cuſtome, it was by tumultuarie inſtigations obtruded againe, and by a few carryed, when moſt of the Peeres were forced to abſent themſelves.

In like manner, was the Bill againſt Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuarie Clamours, and ſchiſmaticall Terrours, which never paſſed, till both Houſes were ſufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion, My Conſcience forbids Me, by conſenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; 'I muſt now be urged with an Armie, and conſtrained either to hazzard My Owne, and My Kingdomes ruine, by My Defence; or proſtrate My Conſcience to the blinde obedience of thoſe men, whoſe zealous ſuperſtition thinkes, or pretends, they cannot doe God and the Church a greater ſervice, than utterly to deſtroy that Primitive, Apoſtolicall, and

and anciently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other mens judgements bind them to maintaine, or forbids them to consent to the abolishing of it; mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in my judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon my Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Right of the Church; to which, most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjury, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving my Consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater misery, than any hath, or can befall me; in as much as the least sinne hath more evill in it than the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-episcopall Faction at first in this poynt, with my Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiasticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetousnesse, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable necessity of raising an Army to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the Bill of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peeres, was done with a firme perswasion of their contentednesse to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honour, for my sake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather than occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) any dangers to me, or to my Kingdome. That I cannot adde my consent to the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon my Conscience, as what I thinke Religious and Apostolicall; and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed

with, or destroyed, when what is onely of civill Favour, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice, and Authoritie of Parliament; when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a Warre, being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My Owne and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against Me. Wherein I was so farre from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seeme to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Me with all the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God kvowes, I had not so much as any hopes of an Army in My thoughts. Had the Tumults beene Honourably and effectually repressed hy exemplary Justice, and the Liberty of the Houses so vindicated, that all Members of either House might with Honour and Freedome, becomming such a Senate, have come and discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this being My necessity driving, the other My choise desiring.

But some men knew I was like to bring the same judgement and constancy, which I carry with Me,

which would never fit their deſignes: and ſo while they invited Me to come, and grievouſly complained of My abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquency of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My ſelfe, and ſo many of both Houſes from their places, by moſt barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reaſon and Honour, they were as loath to have deſerted, as thoſe others were willing they ſhould, that ſo they might have occaſion to perſecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not ſuffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true ſtate, and firſt drift and deſigne in raiſing an Army againſt Me, is by the ſequell ſo evident, that all other pretences vaniſh. For when they declared by Propoſitions or Treaties, what they would have to appeaſe them; there was nothing of conſequence offered to Me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Juſtice. But among other leſſer Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Epiſcopall, and the Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a Warre, or eaſily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or elſe they were meerly conſequentiall, & acceſſary, after the Warre was by them unjuſtly began.

I can not hinder other mens thoughts, whom the noiſe and ſhew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might eaſily ſo fill with prejudice, that

all equality and cleareneſſe of Judgement might be obſtructed. But this was, and is, as to my beſt obſervation, the true ſtate of affaires betweene us, when they firſt raiſed an Army, with this deſigne, either to ſtop My mouth, or to force My conſent: and in this truth, as to My Conſcience, (who was (God knowes) as far from meditating a Warre, as I was in the eye of the World from having any preparations for one) I find that comfort, that in the midſt of all the unfortunate ſucceſſes of this Warre, on My ſide, I doe not think My Innocency any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and peace before God, as with humble confidence to addreſſe My Prayer to Him.

For thou, O Lord, ſeeſt clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs: thou judgeſt without prejudice: thy Omniſcience eternally guides thy unerrable Judgement.

O my God, the proud are riſen againſt me, and the aſſemblies of violent men have ſought after my ſoul, and have not ſet Thee before their eyes,

Conſider my enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without cauſe.

For thou knoweſt, I had no paſſion, deſigne or preparation to embroil my Kingdomes in a Civill Warre, whereto I had leaſt temptation; as knowing I muſt adventure more then any, and could gain leaſt of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witneſſe how oft I have deplored, and ſtudied to divert the neceſſity thereof, wherein I cannot well be thought ſo prodigally thirſty of My Subjects blood, as to venture My owne life

which

which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappy Warre; and which were better ſpent to ſave, than to deſtroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou haſt ſuffered ſome men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjuſt reproaches of thoſe who not content that I ſuffer moſt by War, will needs perſwade the world that I have raiſed firſt, or given juſt cauſe to raiſe it.

The confidence of ſome mens falſe tongues is ſuch, that they would make me almoſt ſuſpect my own Innocency: Yea, I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before men, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeem my People from this miſerable Warre; ſince thou, O Lord, knowest my innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt find out bloody and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their dayes, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violence and wicked counſels.

Save O Lord thy Servant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in Warre.

Ariſe O Lord, lift up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which increaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travailed with iniquity and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſigne of this Warre is, either to deſtroy my Perſon, or force my Judgement and to make Me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſſe Davids *choyce and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) than into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt*

thee, who art a consuming fire; Better they destroy Me, then thou (should'st damne me.

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but my blood will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of my Kingdomes, or thy Temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by mine own Subjects hands.

But O let the blood of me though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the blood of my Innocent and peace-maker Redeemer for in that thy Justice will find not onely a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sinnes, and the sinnes of my People; whom I beseech thee still owne for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies towrd them, and forgive them! O my Father, for they know not what they do.

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10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navie, and Militia.*

HOw untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill War, the eyes that onely pity Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst onely pray for me, at first might witnesse, which yet appear not so many on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Me; My unpreparednesse for a Warre, may well dishearten those that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingnesse to fight; yet it testifies for Me, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have

have none to defend my ſelfe, or to preſerve what is mine owne from their proception.

No man can doubt but they prevented me in their purpoſes, as well as their injuries, who are ſo much before hand in their preparations againſt me, and ſurpriſalls of my ſtrength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not be for me; ſo over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I beleeve my Innocency, and unpreparedneſſe to aſſert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their eſteeme; who would not ſo eaſily have declared a Warre againſt Me, if I had firſt aſſaulted them.

They knew My chiefeſt Armes left Me, were thoſe onely, which the Ancient Chriſtians were wont to uſe againſt their Perſecutors, Prayers and Teares. Theſe may ſerve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to ſuffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Me, and ſurprizing my Caſtles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the *Militia*, is ſo farre beſt for me, That it may drive me from putting any truſt in the arme of fleſh, and wholly to caſt my ſelfe into the protection of the living God, who can ſave by few, or none, as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may alſo make their ſurpriſall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to ſhew me the ſpeciall ſupport of his power and protection.

I thanke God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* ſo much in reference to My own protection as My Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieves Me, I am above my owne, what I want in the hands of

Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take, to reſolve their riddle of making Me a glorious King, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to My Friends, and a Terrour to my Enemies, being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſſe the other.

For thus have they deſigned, and propoſed to Me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any realitie of power, ſo without any neceſſitie of ſubjection and obedience: That the Majeſtie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang, like *Mahomets* Tombe, by a magnetique Charme, betweene the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believe the ſurfeit of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily ſeized on, and now ſeeke wholly to devoure, will ere long make the Commonwealth ſick both of it and them, ſince they cannot well digeſt it; Soveraign Power in Subjects ſeldome agreeing with the ſtomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the conſtant *Militia* ſought, by ſatisfying their feares, and importunities, both to ſecure My Friends, and overcome Mine Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving My ſelfe of a ſole power to helpe, or hurt any: yielding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no leſſe than the Crowne) to be diſpoſed of as the two Houſes ſhall thinke fit, during My time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealouſies in them, of Me, and to live above all Jealouſies of them, as to My ſelfe; I deſire not to be ſafer than I wiſh them and My People; if I had the ſole actuall diſpoſing

of

of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People, further than they protected Me, and themſelves: ſo that the uſe of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend My ſelfe ſo farre, as to be able to defend My good Subjects from thoſe mens violence and fraud, who conſcious to their own evill merits and deſignes, will needs perſwade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be truſted with the cuſtodie of the Shepheard and his Flock. Miſerable experience hath taught My Subjects, ſince Power hath been wreſted from Me, and imployed againſt Me and them; that neither can be ſafe, if both be not in ſuch a way as the Law hath intruſted the publique ſafetie and welfare.

Yet even this Conceſſion of Mine, as to the exerciſe of the *Militia*, ſo vaſt and large, is not ſatisfactorie to ſome men; which ſeeme to be Enemies not to Me onely, but to all Monarchie; and are reſolved to tranſmit to poſteritie ſuch Jealouſies of the Crowne, as they ſhould never permit it to enjoy its juſt and neceſſarie Rights, in point of Power; to which (at laſt) all Law is reſolved, while thereby it is beſt protected.

But here Honour and Juſtice due to My Succeſſors, forbid Me to yield to ſuch a totall alienation of that Power from them, which Civilitie and Dutie (no leſſe than Juſtice and Honour) ſhould have forbad them to have asked of Me.

For, although I can be content to Eclipſe My own beames, to ſatisfie their feares; who thinke they muſt needs be ſcorched, or blinded, if I ſhould ſhine in the full luſtre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have inveſted Me: yet I will never conſent to put out the Sunne of Soveraigntie to

all

all Posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to My Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needes follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it makes a shew to the people to have more eyes to fore-see; so they will finde it hath more mouthes too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrositie, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tryed the horrours and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darknesse and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that Body, which as the Moone receiveth its chiefest light from Me) they will at length more esteeme and welcome the restored glory and blessing of the Sunnes light.

And if at present I may seeme, by My receding so much from the use of My Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworne for My Peoples protection; I conceive those men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, (if so it may seeme) who compell Me to take this new and strange way of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects, by exposing My selfe to danger or dishonour, for their safetie and quiet.

Which,

Which, in the Conflicts of Civill Warre and advantages of Power, cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yielding; to which the greateſt love of the publique Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good Conſcience) doth more invite Me, than can be expected from other mens feares; which ariſing from the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſſefull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of ſafetie, than that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weake defences againſt the ſtroakes of Divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Conſciences, which alwayes attend injurious perpetrations.

For My ſelfe, I doe not thinke that I can want any thing which providentiall neceſſitie is pleaſed to take from Me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity, and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for Me; and he is able, by his being with Me, abundantly to compenſate to Me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or libertie the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himſelfe can deprive Me of.

Although they take from Me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by Land, of Forts and Caſtles, all flight by Sea, in my Ships and Navie; yea, though they ſtudie to rob Me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Me of my owne innocencie, or Gods mercie, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven.

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flie for help, if thou wilt be on my ſide, I ſhall have more with me then can be againſt me.

There

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth that I deſire in compariſon of thee: In theloſſe of all, be thou more than all to me: Make haſt to ſuccour me thou that never faileſt them, that put their truſt in thee.

Thou ſeeſt I have no power to oppoſe them that come againſt me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: but my eyes are toward thee.

Thou needeſt no help, nor ſhall I, if I may have thine, If not to conquer yet at leaſt to ſuffer.

If thou delighteſt not in my ſafety, and proſperity, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have me; whoſe Judgements oft begin with thy own children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou mayeſt be all.

Thou haſt taught me, That no King can be ſaved by the multitude of an Hoſt; but yet thou canſt ſave me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hoſts, and the Father of mercies.

Help me, O Lord, who am ſore diſtreſſed on every ſide, yet be thou on my ſide, and I ſhall not fear what man can do unto me.

I will give thy Juſtice the glory of my diſtreſſe.

O let thy mercy have the glory of my deliverance from them that perſecute my Soul!

By my ſinnes have I fought againſt thee, and robbed thee of thy glory, who am thy ſubject, and juſtly mayeſt thou by my own Subjects, ſtrip me of my ſtrength, and eclipſe my glory.

But ſhew thy ſelf, O my hope, and onely refuge! Let not mine enemies ſay, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not.

Keep

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the ſhadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindneſſe, O thou that ſaveſt by thy right hand them that put their truſt in thee, from thoſe that riſe up againſt them.

From the wicked that oppreſſe me, from my deadly enemies that compaſſe me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy preſence is fulneſſe of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.

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11 *Upon the 19 Propoſitions firſt ſent to the King; and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things, they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet My owne ſafety, and My Peoples peace; which I cannot thinke I buy at too deare a rate, ſave onely the parting with my Conſcience and Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wiſh me.

Some things here propounded to Me, have been offered by Me; Others are eaſily granted; the reſt (I thinke) ought not to be obtruded upon Me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a Warre; when I have already declared that I cannot yield to them, without violating My Conſcience: 'tis ſtrange, there can be no method of Peace, but by making Warre upon My Soule.

Here are many things required of Me, but I ſee nothing offer'd to Me, by the way of gratefull exchange

change of Honour; or any requitall for thoſe favours I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they doe Me, to put Me on the giving part, which is more Princely and Divine. They cannot aske more than I can give, may I but reſerve to my ſelfe the incommunicable Jewell of my Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repaire or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeeme unreaſonable to me; and while I have any Maſterie of my Reaſon, how can they thinke I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a King, or a good Chriſtian. My yielding ſo much (as I have alreadie) makes ſome men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a King, as wound that inward quiet of my Conſcience; which ought to be, is, and ever ſhall be (by Gods grace) dearer to me than my Kingdomes.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honour and Policie are at ſome time to be denyed to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeeme not to dare to denie any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands, or importunities.

But to binde my ſelfe to a generall and implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Freeman, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a King, by His owne Subjects; any of whom he

he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdome, as he doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not onely to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtins* might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do, than quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly to exclude all power of denyall, ſeems an arrogancy, leaſt of all becoming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an humble and loyall way of petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their own inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinks fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of Reaſon to Conſent or Diſſent, elſe it were fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reaſon, as a Man, and in Honour as a Soveraigne King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other than extream injury to confine My Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe minds may be as differing from mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aimes may be, and their qualities are; which laſt God and the Lawes have ſufficiently diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraign, and them My Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon prove violent oppoſitions, if once they gain to be neceſſary impoſitions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man ſeeks to limit and confine his King in Reaſon,

who

who hath not a ſecret aime to ſhare with him, or uſurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Me truſt to their moderation, and abandon mine owne diſcretion; that ſo I might verifie what repreſentations ſome have made of Me to the World, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not ſo confident of my owne ſufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counſell of others: But yet I am not ſo diffident of my ſelfe, as brutiſhly to ſubmit to any mens dictates, & at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reaſon in my Soule, and the Majeſty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Leaſt of all have I any ground of credulity, to induce me fully to ſubmit to all the deſires of thoſe men, who will not admit or doe refuſe, and neglect to vindicate the freedome of their own and others, ſitting and voting in Parliament.

Beſides, all men that know them, know this, how young Stateſ-men (the moſt part) of theſe propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven yeares hath ſhewed me, how well they can Governe themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Truſt, to put the reines of both Reaſon and Government, wholly out of My owne, into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Jehues*; and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the Throne of Supremacy portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the *Omen*, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counſellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their advice, not to command my Duty. When

When I first heard of Propositions to be sent Me, I expected either some good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had bin desired to a restauration of their vigor & due execution; or some evill customes preterlegall, and abuses personall had been to be removed: or some injuries done by My selfe, and others, to the Common-weale, were to be repaired: or some equable offertures were to be tendred to Me, wherein the advantages of My Crowne being considered by them, might fairely induce me to condiscend to what tended to My Subjects good, without any great diminution of My self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, bind Me (in the first place) to preserve: without which, 'tis impossible to preserve My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amisse in Church and State, as might still preserve the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wisdome and pietie of former Parliaments, the ancient and universall practise of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what must be destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Institution, and also supply its pretended defects, reforme its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men, not with soft and specious words, pretending zeale and speciall piety, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptnesse and necessity of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Lawes disjoynted, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any juſtice to be un-obſtructed; of any compenſations to be made; of any impartiall Reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which, Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the main matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty or difficulty; I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as factions in the State, and Schiſmes in the Church, and ſo puniſhable by the Lawes, have now the confidence by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Lawes againſt them, and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to envade.

This as to the main; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper, in which thoſe are wrapped up, to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.

Nor do I ſo much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions, (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts me into not an admiration, but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgements, free, ſingle, and apart, did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive

destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remaines in farre the Major part of both Houses, (if free, and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just moderation, as to know how to sever betweene the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government and the Mis-government, the Primitive Patterns and the aberrations or blottings of after Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little, or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrary) so soone renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to antiquity, to the piety of their reforming Progenitors, to the prosperity of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatality, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulity (beleeving that all is Gold, which is gilded with shewes of Zeale and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgement to be drawne into the common sewer or streame of the present vogue and humour; which hath its chiefe rise and abetment from those popular clamours and Tumults: which served to give life and strength to the infinite activity of those men, who studied with all diligence, and policy, to improve to their Innovating designes, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My Judgement, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever be backt and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the se-

cond ſhould prevaile againſt My Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome Me, further than I ſee cauſe; for I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Juſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry, and hollow of thoſe Men, who hunt after Factious and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgement tell Me, that the Propoſitions ſent to Me were the Reſults of the major part of their votes, who excerciſe their freedome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect My owne Judgement, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to thinke, there are wiſe men among them: and humility to thinke, that, as in ſome things I may want; ſo 'tis fit I ſhould uſe their adviſe, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wiſdome ſuch a compleatneſſe and inerrability as to exclude My ſelfe; ſince none of them hath that part to Act, that Truſt to diſcharge, nor that Eſtate and Honour to preſerve as My ſelf; without whoſe Reaſon concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is neceſſary in all natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wiſdome, which makes the Lawes.

But the unreaſonableneſſe of ſome Propoſitions is not more evident to Me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free deſires of thoſe in their major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For,

For, many of them ſavour very ſtrong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in My two laſt famous Predeceſſours dayes, heaved at, and ſometimes threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am ſure was never wont ſo far to infect the whole maſſe of the Nobilitie and Gentrie of this Kingdome, however it diſperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taynt the major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt Me, My Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids Me impute theſe ſudden and vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety, both of Church & State, command Me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them down; If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Camels, as others do of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, that nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my negative power, ſhall have any byas upon my judgement, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing,

which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more than Reaſon, Juſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade me to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my own peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People, but I will never, for fear, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe and oppreſſe the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me that free and faithfull counſell, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counſell of that mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſdome is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant, firſt with clear diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon and Juſtice, in my underſtanding; then ſo confirm my will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries or oppreſſions of my Enemies may ever enforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in my Conſcience.

Thou never madeſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe than a man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedome is not denyed to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blamable in me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and injuſtice they deny that freedome to me their KING, *which*

which thou haſt given to all men; and which themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other mens propoſals, which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by my granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in thoſe difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict me.

O Lord, make thy way plain before me.

Let not my own ſinfull paſſions cloud, or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions:

Let thy glorie be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happy to pleaſe thee, I need not fear whom I diſpleaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdome of the world fooliſhneſſe, and takeſt in their own devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their own conceits, make me wiſe by thy truth, for thy honour, my Kingdomes generall good, and my own ſouls ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion or diminution of me.

The leſſe wiſdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted out of croſſeneſſe, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by willing, or inconſiderate advancing any mens deſignes, which are injurious to the Publick good, while I confirm them by my conſent.

Nor let me be any occaſion to hinder or defraud

the publick of what is beſt, by any moroſe or perverſe diſſentings.

Make me ſo humbly charitable as to follow their advice, when it appears to be for the publick good, of whoſe affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to aſſure Me.

Thou canſt as well bleſſe honeſt errours, as blaſt fraudulent counſels.

Since we muſt give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of theſe ſolemn Declarations of my mind, which are like to have the greateſt influence upon the Publick, either for woe or weal.

The leſſe others conſider what they ask, make me the more ſollicitous what I anſwer.

Though mine own, and my Peoples preſſures are grievous, and peace would be very pleaſing, yet Lord, never ſuffer me to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expence or waſte of my Conſcience; whereof thou O Lord onely art deſervedly more Maſter than my ſelf.

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12. *Upon the Rebellion, and troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt, either to diſcern the riſe, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and miſery, whom God ſhall find the malicious Authour or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It

It fell out as a moſt unhappie advantage to ſome mens malice againſt me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my Charge, this bloudie opportunitie ſhould be offered them, with which I muſt be aſperſed; Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred to me, being ſo full of ſinne againſt God, diſloyaltie to my ſelfe, and deſtructive to my Subjects.

Some men tooke it very ill, not to be believed, when they affirmed, that what the Iriſh Rebels did, was done with my privitie (at leaſt) if not by my Commiſſion: But theſe knew too well, that it is no newes for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not onely without my Commiſſion, but againſt my Command, and Perſon too; yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authoritie, and for my Safetie.

I would to God the Iriſh had nothing to alledge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the grearer, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, than thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Dutie toward me, I muſt beare the blame; this Honour my Enemies have alwayes done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent tryalls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquiſite malice they have mixed the gall and vinegar of falſitie and contempt, with the Cup of my Affliction; Charging me not onely with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe, and diſ-honour, by what is committed; whereby (in all Policie, Reaſon, and Religion, having

having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drinke, but the fleſh and bloud of my owne Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lyes as much as ſome mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot doe well but in evill times, nor ſo cunningly, as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainely, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeveritie, which ſome men carryed before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparks of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where deſpaire being added to their former diſcontents, and the feares of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to breake out to all exorbitant violence, both by ſome Principles of their Religion, and the naturall deſires of libertie; both to exempt themſelves from their preſent reſtraints, and to prevent thoſe after rigours, wherewith they ſaw themſelves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeale, and uncharitable furie of ſome men, who thinke it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their owne.

God knowes, as I can with Truth waſh my hands in Innocencie, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; ſo I might waſh them in my Teares, as to the ſad apprehenſions

henſions I had, to ſee it ſpread ſo farre, and make ſuch waſte. And this in a time, when diſtractions, and jealouſies here in *England*, made moſt men rather intent to their owne ſafetie, or deſignes they were driving, than to the reliefe of thoſe, who were every day inhumaneiy butchered in *Ireland*: Whoſe teares and bloud might, if nothing elſe, have quenched, or at leaſt for a time, repreſſed and ſmothered thoſe ſparkes of Civill Diſſentions, and Jealouſies, which in *England* ſome men moſt induſtriouſly ſcattered.

I would to God no man had beene leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate than my ſelfe; I offered to goe my ſelfe in Perſon upon that expedition: But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdome quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any Mark here leſſe than my ſelfe; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great, nor the calamitie ſo long, nor the remedie ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſinne of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be: who either hindred the ſpeedie ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebels to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not onely to the knowne Heads, and chiefe Incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root and Branch, men, women, and children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to heare from their owne breaſts, in behalfe of thoſe, whoſe oppreſſive feares, rather than their malice, engaged them; or whoſe imbecilitie for

Sex

Sex and Age was ſuch, as they could neither lift up a hand againſt them, nor diſtinguiſh betweene their right hand and their left: Which prepoſterous, and (I thinke) un-evangelicall Zeale is too like that of the rebuked Diſciples, who would goe no lower in their revenge, than to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repulſe or neglect of a few; or like that of *Iacobs* ſonnes, which the Father both blamed and curſed: chuſing rather to uſe all extremities, which might drive men to deſperate obſtinacie, than to apply moderate remedies; ſuch as might puniſh ſome with exemplarie Juſtice, yet diſarme others, with tenders of mercy upon their ſubmiſſion, and our protection of them, from the furie of thoſe, who would ſoone drowne them, if they refuſed to ſwim downe the popular ſtreame with them.

But ſome kind of Zeale counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmneſſe; and had rather be cruell than counted cold, and is not ſeldome more greedie to kill the Beare for his skin, than for any harme he hath done. The confiſcation of mens eſtates being more beneficiall, than the charitie of ſaving their lives, or reforming their Errours.

When all proportionable ſuccours of the poore Proteſtants in *Ireland* (who were dayly maſſacred, and over-born with numbers of now deſperate Enemies) were diverted and obſtructed here; I was earneſtly entreated, and generally adviſed by the chiefe of the Proteſtant partie there, to get them ſome reſpite and breathing by a ceſſation, without which they ſaw no probabilitie (unleſſe by miracle) to preſerve the remnant that had yet eſcaped: God knowes with how much commiſeration and ſolicitous caution I carryed on that buſineſſe, by perſons of Honour

and

and Integritie, that ſo I might neither incourage the Rebels inſolence, nor diſcourage the Proteſtants Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the beſt ſort, that the neceſſitie and difficultie of affaires would then permit, I was then to ſuffer againe in my Reputation and Honour, becauſe I ſuffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfulls of the Proteſtants there.

I thought that in all reaſon, the gayning of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebels advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafetie; If during the time of that Ceſſation, ſome men had had the grace to have layd *Irelands* ſad condition more to heart; and layd aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carryed on by thoſe, that had better skill to let bloud than to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſ-conſtructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulitie in men to what is falſe, and evill, than love or charitie to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, ſo I can have comfort to appeale to his omniſcience, who doth not therefore denie my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to trie my patience, as he did his ſervant *Job's*.

I have enough to doe to looke to my owne Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt, as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarms of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes and hearts, as eaſily as ſmoake, or ſparkes doe out of a fornace; much leſſe to make ſuch prolix Apologies, as might give thoſe men ſatisfaction: who

conſcious

conſcious to their owne depth of wickedneſſe, are loath to believe any man not to be as bad as themſelves.

'Tis Kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I ſhall not much regard to beare the other.

I thanke God I can heare with patience, as bad as my worſt enemies can falſſly ſay. And I hope I ſhall ſtill doe better than they deſerve, or deſire I ſhould.

I beleeve it will at laſt appeare, that they who firſt began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the firſt letting out, yet of the not timely ſtopping thoſe horrid effuſions of bloud in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever my Enemies pleaſe to ſay, or thinke) I looke upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhauſted out of my owne veines; no man being ſo much weakned by it, as my ſelfe; And I hope, though mens unſatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length ſay to his Juſtice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Warres to ſheath it ſelf: his merciſull juſtice intending, I truſt, not our utter confuſion, but our cure; the abatement of our ſinnes, not the deſolating of theſe Nations.

O my God, let thoſe infinite mercies prevent this once againe, which I and my Kingdomes have formerly abuſed, and can never deſerve, ſhould be reſtored.

Thou ſeeſt how much cruelty among Chriſtians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Chriſtians, unleſſe we cruciſie one another.

Becauſe we have not more loved thy Truth, and practiced it charity, thou haſt ſuffered a Spirit of Errour

Errour and bitterneſſe of mutuall and mortall hatred to riſe among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have ſinned, and ſanctifie what we have ſuffered.

Let our Repentance be our recovery, as our great ſinnes have been our ruine.

Let not the miſeries I and my Kingdomes have hitherto ſuffered, ſeem ſmall to thee: but make our ſins appear to our Conſciences, as they are repreſented in the glaſſe of thy Judgements; for thou never puniſheſt ſmall failings with ſo ſevere afflictions.

O therefore according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our ſinnes, and remove thy Judgements which are very many, and very heavy.

Yet let our ſinnes be ever more grievous to us than thy Judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved; firſt give us the peace of penitent Conſciences, and then the tranquillity of united Kingdomes.

In the Sea of our Saviours blood drowne our ſinnes, and through this red ſea of our own blood bring us at laſt to a ſtate of piety, peace, and plenty.

As my publick relations to all, make Me ſhare in all My Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion; Give me grace to heap charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell zeal hath kindled or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames which have ſo much waſted my three Kingdomes.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poore Proteſtants in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hitherto preſerved.*

And

And lead those in the wayes of thy saving Truth, whose ignorance or errours have filled them with Rebellious and destructive principles; which they all under an opinion, That they doe thee good service.

Let the hand of thy Justice be against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruell and desperate Warres.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadst pity on Niniveh *for the many Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousnesse makes them cruell; nor to their anger which is too fierce, and therefore justly cursed.*

Preserve, if it be thy will, in the midst of the furnace of thy severe Justice a Posterity, which may praise thee for thy mercy.

And deal with Me not according to mans unjust reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my hands in thy sight.

If I have desired, or delighted in the wofull day of my Kingdoms calamities, if I have not earnestly studied, and faithfully endevored the preventing & composing these bloody distractions; then let thy hand be against me and my Fathers house. O Lord, thou seest I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on me and mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse mine integrity, which thou O Lord, knowest right well; But I trust not to my own merit, but thy mercies, spare us O Lord, and be not angry with us for ever.

13. *Upon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall and late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before My owne interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to aske, and act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My Charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids Me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make Me repent of what I granted them, for the publick good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to conforme this Church to their late New modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Liberty) save onely to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which designe and end, whether it will justifie the use of such violent meanes, before the divine Justice; I leave to their Consciences to judge,

who have already felt the miſerie of the meanes, but not reaped the benefit of the end, neither in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of graine being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that forme which they cry up, as the onely juſt Reformation, and ſettling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about to their Presbytery.

It cannot but ſeeme either paſſion, or ſome ſelf-ſeeking, more than true Zeale, and pious Diſcretion, for any Forraigne State or Church to preſcribe ſuch medicines onely for others, which themſelves have uſed, rather ſucceſſefully then commendably; not conſidering that the ſame Phyſick on different conſtitutions, will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor doe I know any ſuch tough and malignant humours in the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Church, which gentler applications then thoſe of an Army, might not eaſily have removed: Nor is it ſo proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to poliſh them by faire and equall diſputations among thoſe that are moſt concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reaſon ought to convince.

But their deſigne now, ſeemed rather to cut off all diſputation here, then to procure a faire and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the

Engliſh

English Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* patterne before ever they could be heard, what they could say for themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gaine most on mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath beene applyed, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, comdemnes Mens obstinacy to deserve penalties.

Which no charity will easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and comformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soone renounce both their former opinion and practise, onely because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as Sheepe into the Common Fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the onely institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I beleeve it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of My Kingdomes, without My consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chiefe Governours of States, where they lived, is very cleare in the Gospell; but that He, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such a way as those *Scots* endeavour; I thinke is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusion runs in a streame so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their owne bloud, not violent drawing other mens; sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move Me with, by their many Solemne obtestations, and pious threatnings, but onely this; to represent to Me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoyd the further miseries of a War; which some men chiefly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders, that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, set up their waies by the like methods of violence? all which Presbytery seekes to suppresse, and render odious under those names; when wise and learned

learned men thinke, that nothing hath more markes of Schiſme, and Sectariſme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and ſtill moſt Univerſall way of the Church-Government, and eſpecially as to the particular Lawes and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for Me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives then Souldiers uſe to carry in their Knapſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, and peaceable Wiſdome, which is from above, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I thinke My ſelfe ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious Zeale and care, by how much I eſteeme the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Owne; and the ſalvation of mens Soules above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I thinke, without ſinne and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under My care and tuition, into the molds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they have firſt gained My conſent, and reſolved both My owne and other mens Conſciences by the ſtrength of their Reaſons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Chriſtian, nor Loyall, ſhall never either ſhake or ſettle My Religion; nor any mans elſe, who knowes what Religion meanes: And how far it is removed from all Faction, whoſe proper engine is force; the arbitrator of beaſts, not of reaſonable men, much

leſſe of humble Chriſtians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have ſuch high conceits of themſelves, that they care not what coſt they lay out upon their opinions; eſpecially thoſe, that have ſome temptation of gaine, to recompence their loſſes and hazzards.

Yet I was not more ſcandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in againſt My will, and their forfeiture of ſo many obligations of duty, and gratitude to Me; then I wondred, how thoſe here could ſo much diſtruſt Gods aſſiſtance; who ſo much pretended Gods cauſe to the People, as if they had the certainty of ſome divine Revelation; conſidering they were more competently furniſhed with My Subjects Armes and Ammunition; My Navy by Sea, My Fortes Caſtles, and Cities by Land.

But I finde, that men jealous of the Juſtifiableneſſe of their doings, and deſignes before God, never thinke they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their worke on, ſeeme it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come in to their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoon after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivet to a ſetlednes by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, deſpiſing the Kirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more than charitable aſſiſtance: For ſure the Church of *England* might

have

have purchaſed at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed Government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines in Chriſtendome for their advice in a full and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and deſirous of, that matters being impartially ſetled, might be more ſatisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods Juſtice, and mans folly will at length be diſcovered, through all the filmes and pretentions of Religion, in which Polticians wrap up their deſignes; In vain do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can thoſe confederations or deſignes be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of ſetting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But as my beſt Subjects of *Scotland* never deſerted Me, ſo I cannot think that the moſt are gone ſo far from Me, in a prodigality of their love and reſpects toward Me, as to make Me to deſpair of their return; when beſides the bonds of nature and conſcience which they have to Me, all Reaſon and true Policy will teach them that their chiefeſt intereſt conſiſts in their fidelity to the Crown, not in their ſerviceableneſſe to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My ſafety and Honour for their own advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

The Troubles of my Soul are inlarged, O Lord; bring thou me out of My diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe

who have so much of the Serpents subtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyn in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience, and Honour.

Thou O Lord, canst turn the heart of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah *and* Israel, *to restore* David *with as much lovall zeal, as they did with inconstancy and eagernesse pursue Him.*

Preserve the love of thy truth and uprightnesse in Me, and I shall not despair of my Subjects affections returning towards Me

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O my God, I trust in thee; let me not be ashamed; let not My enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be ashamed who transgresse without a cause; let them be turned back that persecute my Soule.

Let integrity and uprightnesse preserve me, for I wait on thee O Lord

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its troubles.

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14. *Upon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them by a solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of Religious and faire pre-

tentions

tentions are brought chiefly to batter, or raſe Epiſcopacie; This they make the grand evill Spirit, which, with ſome other Imps purpoſely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, muſt by ſo ſolemne a Charme and Exorciſme be caſt out of this Church, after more than a thouſand yeares poſſeſſion here, from the firſt plantation of Chriſtianitie in this Iſland, and an univerſall preſcription of time and practiſe in all other Churches ſince the Apoſtles times, till this laſt Centurie.

But no Antiquitie muſt plead for it; Presbyterie, like a young Heire, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Biſhops Chayre and Authoritie (though Lay-men goe away with the Revenues) all Art is uſed to ſink Epiſcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately boyed up in *Scotland*, by the like Artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unſatisfied with many paſſages in that Covenant (ſome referring to My ſelfe with very dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefely wonder at the deſigne and drift touching the Diſcipline and government of the Church; and ſuch a manner of carrying them on to new wayes, by Oaths and Covenants, where it is hard for men to be engaged by no leſſe, than ſwearing for, or againſt thoſe things, which are of no cleare morall neceſſitie; but very diſputable, and controverted among learned and godly men: whereto the application of Oaths can hardly be made and enjoyned with that judgement, and certaintie in ones ſelf, or that charitie & candor to others of different opinion, as I thinke Religion requires, which never refuſes faire and equable deliberations; yea, and diſſentings too, in matters onely probable.

The

The enjoyning of Oaths upon People muſt needs in things doubtfull be dangerous, as in things unlawfull, damnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, where former Religious and Legall Engagements bound men ſufficiently to all neceſſary Duties. Nor can I ſee how they will reconcile ſuch an Innovating Oath and Covenant, with that former Proteſtation which was ſo lately taken, to maintaine the Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*: ſince they account Diſcipline ſo great a part of Religion.

But ambitious mindes never thinke they have layd ſnares and ginnes enow to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for by ſuch politick and ſeemingly pious ſtratagems, they think to keepe the popularitie faſt to their Parties under the terror of perjurie: Whereas certainly all honeſt and wiſe men ever thought themſelves ſufficiently bound by former tyes of Religion, Allegiance, and Lawes, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, deviſed and impoſed by a few men in a declared Partie, without My conſent, and without any like power or preſident from Gods or mans Lawes, be ever thought by judicious men ſufficient either to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe morall and eternall bonds of dutie, which lye upon all My Subjects Conſciences both to God and Me.

Yet as things now ſtand, good men ſhall leaſt offend God or Me, by keeping their Covenant in honeſt and lawfull wayes; ſince I have the charitie to thinke, that the chiefe end of the Covenant in ſuch mens intentions, was, to preſerve Religion in puritie, and the Kingdomes in peace: To other than ſuch ends, and meanes, they cannot thinke themſelves engaged; nor will thoſe, that have any true touches

of

of conſcience endeavour to carry on the beſt deſignes, (much leſſe ſuch as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull means, under that title of the Covenant: unleſſe they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and unauthorized novelties, before their known and ſworne duties, which are indiſpenſable, both to God and Myſelf.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this Judgement, That ſuch later Vowes, Oathes, or Leagues, can never blot out thoſe former gravings, and characters, which by juſt and lawfull Oathes were made upon their Souls.

That which makes ſuch Confederations by way of ſolemn Leagues and Covenants more to be ſuſpected, is, that they are the common road, uſed in all factious and powerfull perturbations of State or Church: where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more ſtudied and elaborate, then, when Politicians moſt agitate deſperate deſignes againſt all that is ſetled or ſacred in Religion, and Lawes, which by ſuch ſcrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wreſted by ſecret ſteps, and leſſe ſenſible degrees, from their known rule, and wonted practiſe to comply with the humours of thoſe men, who aim to ſubdue all to their own will and power, under the diſguiſes of Holy combinations.

Which cords and wythes wil hold mens Conſciences no longer, then force attends and twiſts them: for every man ſoon grows his own Pope, and eaſily abſolves himſelf of thoſe ties, which not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the ſubtilty and terrour of a Party caſts up-

upon him; either ſuperfluous and vaine, when they were ſufficiently tyed before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by ſuch after-ligaments they find the Impoſers really ayming to diſſolve, or ſuſpend their former, juſt, and neceſſarie obligations.

Indeed, ſuch illegall wayes ſeldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to Duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keepe their Covenants, in point of Pietie pretended, provided they adhere firmely to the Partie and Deſigne intended.

I ſee the Impoſers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and reliſh, who will but ſwallow it: They admit any mens ſenſes of it, though diverſe or contrary; with any ſalvoes, cautions, and reſervations, ſo as they croſſe not the Chiefe Deſigne which is layd againſt the Church, and Me.

It is enough, if they get but the reputation of a ſeeming encreaſe to their Partie; ſo little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In ſuch latitudes of ſenſe, I believe many that love Me, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not ſo fondly and ſuperſtitiouſly taken by it, as now to act clearly againſt both all pietie and loyaltie: who firſt yielded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads, in caſe they wholly refuſed it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of ſome generall Clauſes may (perhaps) ſerve ſomewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endevouring what lawfully they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for,

for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience which are certain and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within these lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely, it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawfull Authority at first to enjoyn it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking the Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publick Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advice of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgements I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self to carry on all due Reformations, with mature judgement, and

and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall advice) be, by Gods Word, and right Reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legall Rights, than the Biſhops and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deere, muſt be deſtroyed; the other Raſcall-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c. being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his Citie, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sayls, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which Factious men ſteere their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thanke God, as no man lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefely from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crowne, with My Conſent) ſo I have alwayes had ſuch a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the leaſt inclination to ſuch ſacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater deſire to have Biſhops and all Church-men ſo reformed, that they may beſt deſerve and uſe, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predeceſſors hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Chriſtian bountie.

But no neceſſitie ſhall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or ſell the Prieſts Lands, which both

Pharaoh's

Pharaoh's Divinitie, and *Joseph's* true Pietie abhorred to doe: so unjust I think it, both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred imployment of all due encouragements; and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the Red Sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteemes it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be, *The Defender of the Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring Sacriledge and Apostacy.*

I had rather live as my Predecessor *Henry* the third sometime did, on the Churches Almes, than violently to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouthes.

The next worke will be *Jeroboam's* Reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests, and People, is well enough knowne: And so it will be here, when from the Tuition of Kings and Queenes, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have alreadie discovered, what hard Fathers and Stepmothers they will be.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I thinke it no lesse than a mocking and

tempting

tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefes whose occasions and remedies are in our owne power, it being every mans sinne not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repaire the breaches of the State, without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other, under the pretence of Publique Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be necessary to either.

To thee O Lord, do I addresse my prayer: beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall, and indispensible bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretentions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be Religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacriledge under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not Sacrilegious designes to have the countenance of Religious ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a snare to take things that are holy and after Vowes to make enquiry

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious, and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and

thy

thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning, and Religion.

Though my Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and my Debts Encreased, yet never suffer Me to be tempted to use such profane Reparations lest a coal from thine altar, set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience, as will never be quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publick, which some mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of peace upon us; The Church is never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poore may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to swine; nor the Churches bread to dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsells which some men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboths *vineyard to* Ahab, *gall in their mouthes, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.*

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed

together against the Church and State that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favour My righteous dealing O Lord, that in the mercies of Thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

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15. *Upon the many Jealousies raised, and Scandalls cast upon the King, to stir up the people against Him.*

IF I had not My owne Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of Malice, which by Falsities seeke to oppresse the Truth; and by Jealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly lose My Crownes, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdomes so deare to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone: A good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternity of love and gratitude of Posterity.

Those foule and false aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My Peoples Love of Me: that undermining their opinion and value of Me, My Enemies, and theirs too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter downe their Loyalty.

Wherein

Wherein yet I thanke God, the detriment of My Honour is not ſo afflictive to Me, as the ſinne and danger of My Peoples Soules, whoſe eyes once blinded with ſuch miſts of ſuſpitions, they are ſoone miſ-led into the moſt deſperate precipices of actions: wherein they doe not onely, not conſider their ſinne and danger, but glory in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them ſo fit to bé deſtroyed, that many are ambitious to merit the name of My Deſtroyers; Imagining they then feare God moſt, when they leaſt honour their KING.

I thanke God, I never found but My pity was above my anger; nor havé My paſſions ever ſo prevailed againſt Me, as to exclude My moſt compaſſionate prayers for them, whom devout errours more than their owne malice have betrayed to a moſt religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that moſt part of My Subjects fought againſt my ſuppoſed Errours, not my Perſon; and intended to mend me, not to end me: and I hope that God pardoning their Errours, hath ſo farre accepted and anſwered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preſerved me, ſo he hath by theſe afflictions prepared me, both to doe him better ſervice, and my people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their ſeductions, which occaſioned their loyall injuries, than I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeeme them from their unjuſt ſuſpicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conſcious to my owne Affections toward the generality of my people, to ſuſpect theirs to me; nor ſhall the malice of my Enemies ever be able

to deprive Me of the comfort, which that confidence gives Me; I ſhall never gratifie the ſpitefulneſſe of a few with any ſiniſter thoughts of their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have ſeduced.

The worſt ſome mens ambition can do, ſhall never perſwade Me, to make ſo bad interpretations of moſt of My Subjects actions; who poſſibly may be Erroneous, but not Hereticall in point of Loyalty.

The ſenſe of the Injuries done unto My Subjects is as ſharp, as thoſe done to My ſelf; our welfares being inſeparable; in this onely they ſuffer more than my ſelf, that they are animated by ſome ſeducers to injure at once both themſelves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it muſt be done by ſuch inſtruments, that My afflictions grieve Me not more, than this doth, that I am afflicted by thoſe, whoſe proſperity I earneſtly deſire, and whoſe ſeduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forraigne Enemies, I could have born it; but they muſt be My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Me: And for the reſtoring of whoſe tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently fore-ſee that by the divided Intereſts of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrary winds, the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed than allayed.

I had rather prevent My Peoples ruine than Rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happineſſe; if it could expiate or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraigne.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die

die many deaths, than ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray My own juſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of My Enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good Memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew:

My Patience (I thank God) will better ſerve Me to bear, and My charity to forgive, than My leiſure to anſwer the many falſe aſperſions which ſome men have caſt upon Me.

Did I not more conſider My Subjects ſatisfaction, than My own Vindication; I ſhould never have given the malice of ſome men that pleaſure, as to ſee Me take notice of, or remember what they ſay or object.

I would leave the Authours to be puniſhed by their own evill manners, and ſeared Conſciences, which will I believe, in a ſhorter time than they be aware of, both confute and revenge all thoſe black and falſe ſcandalls, which they have caſt on Me; And make the world ſee, there is as little truth in them as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not ſay Loyalty) in the not ſuppreſſing of them; whoſe credit and reputation even with the people, ſhall ere long be quite blaſted by the breath of that ſame fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have ſtudied to heat and

inflame to the higheſt degree of infamy, and wherein they have ſought to caſt and conſume My Name and Honour.

Firſt nothing gave me more cauſe to ſuſpect, and ſearch My own Innocency; then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt Me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety; for this gave to vulgar minds ſo bad a reflection upon Me, and My Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to Me, and not withall to part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me which were both learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of My ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with Me, than forſake Me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo Religious pretentions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many wel-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, or what they call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe with them, looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulnes of the means uſed, nor the depth of the miſchief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weakneſſe of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cryed not mine down as falſe.

I Thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancy of My Religion in the Protestant profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixednesse in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give My Conscience leave to approve or consent to those many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold ignorance of some men would needs obtrude upon Me, and my People.

Contrary to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have setled in the Confession and Constitution of this Church in *England*; which many former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; in which I shall ever, by Gods help persevere, as believing it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did my using the assistance of some Papists which were my Subjects any way fight against my Religion, as some men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they said, and did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would be esteemed, should not conceive, that differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fall out, where there is the sameneſſe of duty, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second they ow to me in Common, as their KING; different professions in point of Religion cannot (any more than in civill Trades)

take away the communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the World againe, as those men entertaine in their service (who finde most fault with Me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foule and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce Me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to helpe Me to defend My selfe.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aide of any His Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours; who seeme to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it hath beene a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have beene then disputing the points of different beleefes in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse than their prayers as Christians.

The noise of My Evill Counsellours was another usefull devise for those, who were impatient any mens counsells but their owne, should be followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Me better counsell that they would not give Me leave to take it with Freedome, as a Man; or Honour as a King; making their counsells more like a dronch that must be powred downe, than a draught which might be fairly and leisurely drank, if I liked it.

I will not justifie beyond humane errours and frailties

ties My ſelfe, or My Counſellours: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages, yet ſuch as were farre more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, than thoſe enormious extravagances, wherewith ſome men have now even weldred, and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worſt Counſels, that My worſt Counſellours ever had the boldneſſe to offer to Me, or My ſelfe any inclination to uſe; I could not ſo ſoone have brought both Church and State in three flouriſhing Kingdomes, to ſuch a *Chaos* of confuſions, and Hell of miſeries, as ſome have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midſt of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complaine, than I was to redreſſe what I ſaw in Reaſon was either done or adviſed amiſſe; and this I thought I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were ſorry to ſee Me prone even to injure My ſelfe, out of a Zeale to releeve My Subjects.

But other mens inſatiable deſire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefits of all My, either Retractations, or Conceſſions; and withall, hath deprived all thoſe (now ſo zealous Perſecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended perſecutions, wherein they ſo much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Chriſtian will ſo highly prize, as rather not to be relieved, than be revenged, ſo as to be bereaved of that Crowne of Chriſtian Patience, which attends humble and injured ſufferers.

Another

Another artifice uſed to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their deſignes, was, The noiſe and oſtentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to deſire, than unapt to beare in the popular ſenſe; which is to doe what every man liketh beſt.

If the Divineſt liberty be to will what men ſhould, and to doe what they ſo will, according to Reaſon, Lawes; and Religion; I envy not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I deſire to enjoy my ſelfe; So farre am I from the deſire of oppreſſing theirs: Nor were thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which aſſiſted me ſo prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to helpe on the enſlaving of themſelves and their Poſterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but ſuch as deſire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous deſignes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and People, will ever deſire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow; whoſe bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppreſſion.

Nor is it juſt any man ſhould expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who deſpiſeth its rule and direction; loſing juſtly his ſafety while he ſeekes an unreaſonable liberty.

Time will beſt informe my Subjects, that thoſe are the beſt preſervers of their true liberties, who allow themſelves the leaſt licentiouſneſſe againſt, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feele at laſt to their coſt, that it is impoſſible thoſe men ſhould be really tender of their fellow-ſubjects liberties, who have the heardineſſe to uſe their King with ſo ſevere reſtraints; againſt all Lawes, both Divine and Humane, under which,

yet;

yet, I will rather periſh, than complaine to thoſe, who want nothing to compleat the mirth, and triumph, but ſuch muſick.

In poynt of true conſcientious tenderneſſe (attended with humility and meekneſſe, not with proud and arrogant activity, which ſeekes to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schiſme) I have oft declared, how little I deſire my Lawes and Scepter ſhould intrench on Gods Soverainty, which is the onely King of mens Conſciences; and yet He hath laid ſuch reſtraints upon men, as commands them to be ſubject for Conſcience ſake, giving no men liberty to breake the Law eſtabliſhed, further than with meekeneſſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather than perturb the publike Peace.

The truth is, ſome men thirſt after Novelties, others deſpaire to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruſting Gods Providence, as well as their owne merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have beene perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentyfull eſtates they got, and enjoyed under my Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can invent; and my ſelfe expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of my People.

For mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as mine innocency is cleare before God, in point of any calumnies they object, ſo my reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome

in

in the night and darker times) riſe and recover it ſelf to ſuch a degree of ſplendour, as thoſe ferall birds ſhall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear, For never were any Princes more glorious, than thoſe whom God hath ſuffered to be tryed in the fornace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the juſt and mercifull God will do Me good, for ſome mens hard, falſe and evill ſpeeches againſt Me; wherein they ſpeak rather what they wiſh, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I ſuffer ſo much in point of Honour, by thoſe rude and ſcandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations flie up and down to ſet all places on like flames) than thoſe men do, who pretending to ſo much piety, are ſo forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majeſty of their KING againſt any of thoſe, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angells, *ſpeak evill of dignities, and bring railing accuſations againſt thoſe*, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God, ſhould not Honour their KING.

They will eaſily contemne ſuch ſhadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom all the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without ſin ſeek to blot them out. Nor ſhall their black veiles be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are all the eradiations of true glory and Majeſty.

Thou

Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and my dishonour, My Adversaries are all before thee.

My Soul is among Lions, among them that are set on fire, Even the Sons of Men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, their tongue a sharp sword.

Mine enemies reproach me all the day long, and those that are mad against me are sworn together.

O my God, how long shall the sons of men turn my glory into shame? how long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace lest my Enemies prevail against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhorre both the blood-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousness to appear as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noon day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure my patience, That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile again; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldest not suffer Shimei's *tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on* David *he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.*

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evil-

vil-ſpeaking by well doing; and let them not enjoy the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids *patience and* Hezekiah's *devotion, that I may look to thy mercy, through mans malice, and ſee thy juſtice in their ſinne.*

Let Sheba's *ſeditious ſpeeches,* Rabſhekah's *railing, and* Shimei's *curſing, provoke as my humble prayer to thee, ſo thy renewed bleſſing toward me*

Though they curſe do thou bleſſe, and I ſhall be bleſſed; and made a bleſſing to my people.

That the ſtone which ſome builders refuſe, may become the head ſtone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and ſave me, from the approach of them that would ſwallow me up.

Hide me in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man, and keep me from the ſtrife of tongues.

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16. *Vpon the Ordinance againſt the Common-Prayer-Booke.*

IT is no newes to have all Innovations uſhered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by thoſe, who ſeeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety muſt needs undo what ever was formerly ſetled never ſo well and wiſely.

So hardly can the pride of thoſe that ſtudy Novelties, allow former times any ſhare or degree of wiſdome or godlineſſe.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly bears a great part in Religion, (being the Souls more immediate converſe with the Divine Majeſty)

jesty) nothing could be more plausible to the People than to tell them, They served God amisse in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgy, or Forms of constant Prayers must be) not amended, in what upon free and publick advice might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent, but wholly cashiered and abolished, & after many popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences, and the Lawes in force, it must be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to please either those men, who gloried in their extemporary vein and fluency: or others who conscious to their own formality in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall reje- of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadnesse of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could against it; especially for Popery and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrin of the Church of *England*; & this by all Reformed Churches is confessed to be most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received into their hearts and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy as I hold this

this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Conſtancy abates nothing of the excellency and uſefulneſſe.

I could never ſee any Reaſon, why any Chriſtian ſhould abhor, or be forbidden to uſe the ſame Formes of Prayer, ſince he prayes to the ſame God, beleeves in the ſame Saviour, profeſſeth the ſame Truths, reades the ſame Scriptures, hath the ſame duties upon him, and feeles the ſame dayly wants for the moſt part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before-hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what ſence; when we deſire the ſame things, what hinders we may not uſe the ſame words? our appetire and digeſtion too may be good when we uſe, as we pray for, *our dayly bread.*

Some men, I heare, are ſo impatient not to uſe in all their devotions their owne invention, and gifts, that they not onely diſuſe (as too many) but wholly caſt away and contemne the *Lords Prayer*; whoſe great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall patterne of all ſet Liturgies, in the Chriſtian Church.

I ever thought that the proud oſtentation of mens abilities for invention, and the vaine affectations of variety for expreſſions, in Publique Prayer, or any ſacred adminiſtration, merits and greater brand of ſinne, than that which they call Coldneſſe and Barrenneſſe: Nor are men in thoſe novelties leſſe ſubject to formall and ſuperficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than in the uſe of conſtant Formes, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the moſt extemporary varietie; and very fervently devout

devout in the moſt wonted expreſſions: Nor is God more a God of variety, than of conſtancy: Nor are conſtant Formes of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and devotion, than unpremeditated and confuſed variety to diſtract, and loſe it.

Though I am not againſt a grave, modeſt, diſcreet, and humble uſe of Miniſters gifts, even in publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, and the Peoples affections to the preſent occaſions; yet I know no neceſſity why private and ſingle abilities ſhould quite juſtle out; and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concutrent gifts of many learned and godly men; ſuch as the Compoſers of the Service-Booke were, who may in all reaſon be thought to have more of Gifts and Graces enabling them to compoſe with ſerious deliberation and concurrent adviſe, ſuch Formes of Prayers, as may beſt fit the Churches common wants, informe the Hearers underſtanding, to ſtirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their Spirit (wherein conſiſts the very Life and Soule of Prayer, and that ſo much pretended Spirit of Prayer) than any private man by his ſolitary abilities can be preſumed to have, which, what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noiſe and ſhew) the affectation, emptineſſe, impertinency, rudeneſſe, confuſions, flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vaine, and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſeleſſe, and oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, doe ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtranegly impudent, and flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite

ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church after ſo ridiculous and indeed ſo profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of publick compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions, when the ſubject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencie not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order, and gravity, becoming thoſe duties, which by this means are expoſed at every celebration to every Miniſters private infirmities, indiſpoſitions, errours, diſorders, and defects, both for judgement and expreſſion.

A ſerious ſenſe of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans ſeverall manner of officiating, no doubt, firſt occaſioned the wiſdome and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy thoſe miſchiefs, by the uſe of conſtant Liturgies of Publick compoſure.

The want of which I believe this Church will ſufficiently feele, when the unhappy fruits of many mens un-governed ignorance, and confident defects ſhall be diſcovered in more errours, ſchiſmes, diſorders, and uncharitable diſtractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more the pity.

However, if violence muſt needs bring in, and abet thoſe innovations, (that men may not ſeem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reaſon, and Reli-

gion

gion forbids at leaſt to be ſo obtruded, as wholly to juſtle out the publick Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuſe that moſt unjuſt and partiall ſeverity of thoſe men, who either lately had ſubſcribed to, uſed and maintained the Service-Booke; or refuſing to uſe it, cryed out of the rigour of Lawes and Biſhops, which ſuffered them not to uſe the liberty of their Conſciences, in not uſing it.

That theſe men (I ſay) ſhould ſo ſuddenly change the Liturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expreſſions; or as if matter preſcribed did not as much ſtint and obſtruct the Spirits as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (ſo ſlight and eaſie is that Legerdemain which will ſerve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they ſhould uſe ſuch ſeverity as not to ſuffer without penalty any to uſe the Common-Prayer-Book publickly, although their Conſciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.

Thus I ſee, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, than ſuch, whoſe pride was formerly leaſt diſpoſed to the obedience of lawfull Conſtitutions; & whoſe licentious humours moſt pretended Conſcientious liberties, which freedome, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains; when they may have leave to ſerve Me, whoſe abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not ſhort of the others, but their modeſty and learning far exceeds the moſt of them.

But this matter is of ſo popular a nature, as ſome men knew it would not bear learned & ſober debates, leſt being convinced by the evidence of Reaſon,

as well as Lawes, they should have been driven either to sin more against their knowledge by taking away the Liturgy, or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believe they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their number and estate, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I believe was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, not yet Charity enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their own forms, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that seeing the onely mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Forms, of sound and wholsome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou denyest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants, nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches tried and well-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is always the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy Spirituall perfe-

tions are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in their pious moderation of their judgements in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Errour consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of Truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord, keep us from formall Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then we know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, *and other holy men) *in the same forms cannot hurt us.*

Give us wisdome to amend what is amisse within us, and there will be lesse to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeal, and over-bold devotion.

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17 *Of the differences between the King, and the two Houses, in point of Church Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath

hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintain it, not ſo much out of piety, as policy and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I finde it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Church-men; and they ſuch a dependance on Him, as may beſt reſtraine the ſeditious exorbitancies of Miniſters tongues; who with the Keyes of Heaven have ſo farre the Keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or ſhut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that, being (as KING) intruſted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I ſee no Reaſon I ſhould give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reaſon I ought to have over both.

The moving of Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers (of which I have elſewhere given an account) was ſufficient to take off any ſuſpicion, that I encline to them for any uſe to be made of their Votes in State affaires: Though indeed I never thought any Biſhop worthy to ſit in that Houſe, who would not Vote according to his Conſcience.

I muſt now in Charity be thought deſirous to preſerve that Government in its right conſtitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My Judgement is fully ſatisfied, that it hath of all other the fulleſt Scripture grounds, and alſo the conſtant practiſe of all Chriſtian Churches; till of late yeares, the tumultuarineſſe of People, or the factiouſneſſe and pride of Presbyters, of the couetouſneſſe of ſome States and Princes, gave occaſion to ſome men wits

wits to inuent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Government, Scepter, and Kingdome*; the better to serve their turnes, to whom the charge was beneficiall.

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite Me to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to believe their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full, and constant testimony of all his Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiased men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in Reason or Charity be supposed, that all Churches in the World should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soone deviate from their divine and holy patterne: That since the first Age, for fifteene hundred yeares not one Example can be produced of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universall practise agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture-directions, and examples, are set downe in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of welbeing, than the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops Power and Authority, as to over-see both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and

Apoſtolicall conſtitution: which to Me ſeems no leſſe evidently ſet forth, as to the main ſcope and deſigne of thoſe Epiſtles, for the ſetling of a peculiar Office, Power & Authority in them as Preſident-Biſhops above others, in point of Ordination, Cenſures, and other acts of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, than thoſe ſhorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Biſhops, and Deacons, are deſcribed in ſome parts of the ſame Epiſtles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Biſhops*; as to the over ſight and care of ſingle Congregations, committed to them by the Apoſtles, or other Apoſtolicall Biſhops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*,) ſucceeeded them in that ordinary power, there aſſigned over large diviſions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of thoſe firſt Biſhops avoiding the eminent title of Apoſtles, as a name in the Churches ſtile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Meſſenger, or one ſent*) to that ſpeciall dignity which hath extraordinary call, miſsion gifts, and power immediately from Chriſt: they contented themſelves with the ordinary titles of Biſhops and Presbyters, untill uſe, (the great arbitrator of words, and Maſter of language) finding reaſon to diſtinguiſh by a peculiar name thoſe perſons whoſe power and office were indeed diſtinct from, and above all other in the Church, as ſucceeding the Apoſtles in the ordinary and conſtant power of governing the Churches, the (honour of whoſe name they modeſtly, yet commendably declined) all Chriſtian Churches (ſubmitting to that ſpeciall authority) appropriated alſo the name of *Biſhop*, without any ſuſpition or reproach of arrogancy, to thoſe, who

who were by Apoſtolicall propagation righcly deſcended and inveſted into that higheſt and largeſt power of governing even the moſt pure and Primitive Churches; which, without all doubt had many ſuch holy Biſhops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*, whoſe ſpeciall power is not more clearly ſet down in thoſe Epiſtles (the chief grounds and limits of all Epiſcopall claim, as from divine right) than are the characters of theſe perilous times, and thoſe men that make them ſuch; who not enduring ſound doctrine and clear teſtimonies of all Churches practiſe, are moſt perverſe Diſputers, and proud Uſurpers, againſt true Epiſcopacy; who, if they be not Traitours, and Boaſters, yet they ſeem to be very covetous, heady, high minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themſelves, having much of the form, little of the power of godlineſſe.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, ſeek to overlay and ſmother the pregnancy and authority of that power of Epiſcopall Government, which beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is moſt convincingly ſet forth, both by Scripture, and all after Hiſtories of the Church.

¶ This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Poſterity may ſee (if ever theſe Papers be publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Eccleſiaſticall examples, whereon my judgment was ſtated for Epiſcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obſtinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of wordly reſpects be ſo conſiderable to Me as to recompence the injuries and loſſes I, and my dear-

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eſt relations with My Kingdomes, have ſuſtained and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and the Churches Univerſall practice the beſt Commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government, it cannot be thought that an orderly ſubordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, than it is in all ſecular and Civill Government, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more believe, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, than good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall orders and a Prelacie in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhor or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters, who have as much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion, as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdome (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplied to many Congregations, and Presbyters with them appointed this way of Government, which might beſt preſerve order and union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters but the wiſdome and piety of the Apoſtles, that firſt ſetled Biſhops in the Church; which Authority they conſtantly uſed, and injoyed in thoſe times, which were pureſt for Religion, though ſharpeſt for Perſecution.

Not that I am againſt the managing of this Preſidency and Authority in one man by the joint Counſell and conſent of many Presbyters I have offered

fered to reſtore that, as a fit means to avoid thoſe Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to any one man; alſo to avoid Tyranny which becomes no Chriſtians, leaſt of all Church-men; beſides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one mans ſhoulders, as indeed I think it formerly did on the Biſhops here.

Nor can I ſee what can be more agreeable both to Reaſon, and Religion, than ſuch a frame of Government which is paternall, not Magiſteriall; and wherein not onely the neceſſity of avoiding Faction and Confuſion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to ariſe among equals in power and function; but alſo the difference in ſome Miniſters gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Epiſcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppoſitions againſt it: It is well known I have endeavoured to ſatisfie My ſelf in what the chiefe Patrons for other wayes can ſay againſt this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as far leſſe of Scripture grounds, and of Reaſon; ſo for examples, and practice of the Church, or teſtimonies of Hiſtories, they are wholly deſtitute wherein the whole ſtream runs ſo for Epiſcopacy, that there is not the leaſt rivulet for any others.

As for thoſe obtruded examples of ſome late reformed Churches, for many retain Biſhops ſtill) whom neceſſity of times and affairs rather excuſeth, than commendeth for their conformity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why

why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should be forced to conforme to those few, rather than to the Catholicke example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this day, who Governed by Bishops in the Christian World, are many more than Presbyterians or Independants can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes lately governed by Bishops, would equalize (I thinke) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wisdome or charity, where Christians differ, (as many doe in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian World (except a handfull of some Protestants) so great a scandall in point of Church-Government; whom though you may convince of their Errours in some point of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolicall: So far, that never Schismaticks, nor Hereticks, (except those Aerians) have strayed from the Unity, and Conformity of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as well as the Laity of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgement; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did or that they did confirme contrary to

their

their Conſciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excuſed, who before the point of Church-Government had any free and impartiall debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, againſt their obedience to the Lawes in force, and againſt My Conſent, have not onely quite cryed downe the Government by Biſhops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and moſt illegall ſtripping all the Biſhops, and many other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the ſelling away, and utter alienation of thoſe Church-Lands from any Eccleſiaſticall uſes! So great a power hath the ſtreame of times, and the prevalency of parties over ſome mens judgements; of whoſe ſo ſudden and ſo totall change, little reaſon can be given, beſides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of theſe men will at laſt puniſh it ſelf, and the Deſertion of Epiſcopacy will appear the greateſt Enemies to, and betrayers of their own intereſt, for Presbytery is never ſo conſiderable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Epiſcopacy, all Miniſters will find as great a difference in point of thriving, betweene the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the ſweet and liberall dews of Heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will ſoone let them ſee, what a poore carcaſſe they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whoſe Supremacy they have been ſworne.

A little moderation might have prevented great miſchiefes; I am firme to Primitive Epiſcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Diſcre-

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tion without passion might easily reforme, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Lawes, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons, which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which My Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I looke upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of charity, and hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peacefull times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measures of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthy of those incouragements, and best able to use them: if at any time My judgement of men failed My good intention made My errour veniall: And some Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governours, to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprove, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian party, which

which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independant inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for My Judgement touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knowes) I doe not gratifie any deſigne or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and all the Chriſtian World, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with ſervile reſtraints to ſeeke to force Me their KING and Soveraigne, as ſome men have endeavoured to doe, againſt all theſe grounds of My judgement, to conſent to their weake and divided novelties.

The greateſt Pretender of them deſires not more than I doe, That the Church ſhould be governed as Chriſt hath appointed, in true Reaſon, and in Scripture; of which, I could never ſee any probable ſhew for any other wayes: who either content themſelves with the examples of ſome Churches in their infancy and ſolitude, when one Presbyter might ſerve one Congregation in the City or Country; or elſe they deny theſe moſt evident Truths, That the Apoſtles were Biſhops over thoſe Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that, Government being neceſſary for the Churches well being, when multiplyed, and ſociated, muſt alſo neceſſarily deſcend from the Apoſtles to others, after the example of that power and ſuperiority, they had above others; which could not end with their perſons; ſince the uſe and ends of ſuch Government ſtill continue.

It is moſt ſure that the pureſt Primitive and beſt

Churches

Churches flouriſhed under Epiſcopacy; and many ſo ſtill, if ignorance, ſuperſtition, avarice, revenge, and other diſorderly and diſloyall paſſions had not ſo blowne up ſome mens minds againſt it, that what they want of Reaſon or Primitive Patterns, they ſupply with violence and oppreſſion; wherein ſome mens zeale for Biſhops Lands, Houſes, and Revenues hath ſet them on the worke to eate up Epiſcopacy: which (however other men eſteeme) to Me is no leſſe ſin, than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout minds have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whoſe hands hee graciouſly accepts even a Cup of cold Water, as a libation offered to himſelfe.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgement, I am ſolemnly obliged to preſerve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulneſſe of the Function, as Antichriſtians, (which ſome men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could ſoone, with Judgement, break that Oath, which erroneouſly was taken by Me.

But being dayly by the beſt diſquiſition of truth, more confirmed in the Reaſon and Religion of that to which I am Sworn; How can any man that wiſheth not My damnation, perſwade Me at once to ſo notorious and combined ſinnes, of Sacriledge and Perjury? beſides the many perſonall Injuſtices I muſt doe to many worthy men, who are as legally inveſted in their Eſtates, as any, who ſeek to deprive them; and they have by no Law, been convicted of thoſe crimes, which might forfeit their Eſtates and Lively-hoods.

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I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderneſſe of Conſcience, and Reformation, can at once tell Me, that My Coronation Oath binds Me to conſent to whatſoever they ſhal, propound to Me, (which they urge with ſuch violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedome which every man ought to preſerve; and of which they ſeem ſo tender of their own Votes; yet at the ſame time theſe men will needs perſwade Me That I muſt, and ought to diſpenſe with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binds (Me agreeable to the beſt light of Reaſon and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legall Rights of the Church. 'Tis ſtrange My Oath ſhould be valid in that part, which both my ſelf and all men in their own caſe, eſteem injurious and unreaſonable, as being againſt the very naturall and eſſentiall liberty of our ſouls, yet it ſhould be invalid, and to be broken in another clauſe, wherein I think My ſelf juſtly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held ſo long, by ſome mens ambitious Covetouſneſſe, and ſacrilegious cruelty; torturing (with Me) both Church and State in Civill diſſentions; till I ſhall be forced to conſent, and declare that I doe approve, what (God knows) I utterly diſlike, and in My Soul abhor; as many wayes highly againſt Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion: and whereto if I ſhould ſhamefully, and diſhonourably give My conſent; yet ſhould I not by ſo doing ſatisfie the divided Intereſts and Opinions of thoſe Parties, which contend with each other as well as both againſt Me and Epiſcopacy.

Nor can My late condeſcending to the *Scots* in

point of Church-Government, be rightly objected againſt Me, as an inducement for Me, to conſent to the like in My other Kingdomes; For it ſhould be conſidered that Epiſcopacy was not ſo rooted and ſetled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that reſpect) ſo ſtrictly bound to continue it in that Kingdome as in this; for what I thinke in My judgement beſt, I may not thinke ſo abſolutely neceſſary for all places, and at all times.

If any ſhall impute My yeelding to them, as My failing and ſinne, I can eaſily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do ſo againe, or much worſe; I being now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yeelding to them beene ſo happy and ſucceſſefull, as to incourage Me to grant the like to others.

Did I ſee any thing more of Chriſt, as to Meekneſſe, Juſtice, Order, Charity, and Loyalty in thoſe that pretend to other modes of Government, I might ſuſpect My judgement to be biaſſed, or fore-ſtalled with ſome prejudice and wontedneſſe of opinion; but I have hitherto ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect the contrary in the manners of many of thoſe men, that I cannot from them gaine the leaſt reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I finde that in any Reformed Churches (whoſe Paternes are ſo cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, Workes of Piety or Charity, have ſo flouriſhed beyond what they have done in My Kingdoms (by Gods bleſſing) which might make Me beleeve either Presbytery or Independancy have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Epiſcopacy in its right conſtitution.

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The abuſes of which, deſerve to be extirpated as much as the uſe retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and uniform Antiquity, than to comply with divided novelty.

A right Epiſcopacy would at once ſatisfie all juſt deſires, and intereſt of good Biſhops, humble Presbyters, and ſober People; ſo as Church affairs ſhould be managed neither with tyranny, purity, nor popularity; neither Biſhops ejected, nor Presbyters deſpiſed, nor People oppreſſed.

And in this integrity both of My Judgement and Conſcience, I hope God will preſerve Me.

For thou, O Lord, knoweſt my uprightneſſe, and tenderneſſe, as thou haſt ſet me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church, ſo ſuffer me not by any violence to be over-born againſt my Conſcience.

Ariſe, O Lord, maintain thine own Cauſe, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apoſtles hath been retained in pureſt and Primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of ſecular envy; which ſeeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me as the good Samaritan, compaſſionate, and helpfull to thy afflicted Church; which ſome men have wounded and robbed; others paſſe by without regard either to pity or relieve.

As my power is from thee, ſo give me grace to uſe it for thee.

And though I am not ſuffered to be Maſter of My other Rights as a KING, *yet preſerve me in that liberty of Reaſon, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conſcience as a Chriſtian.*

Preſerve from ſacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſins and errours who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wild Boare, and ſubtill Foxes, to waſt and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not bear the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the firſt Chriſtian KING *in this Kingdome, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſſion of thy Church, and the fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather with* Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reform with meekneſſe than expoſe their perſons, and ſacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, and for thy Church, make no long tarrying O my God to deliver both Me, and it, from unreaſonable men; whoſe Counſells have brought forth and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, ſchiſmes, and diſorders.

O thou God of order and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, aſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchievous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies,

That I, and all that love thy Church, *may ſing praiſes to thee, and ever magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men.*

BODLEIANA

18. *Upon*

18. *Upon* Uxbridge-Treaty, *and other offers made by the King.*

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having 'greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither My self nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Me, to present them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity to *seeek peace and ensue it.*

As I was very unwillingly compelled to defend My self with Arms, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to peace.

The Events of all War by the Sword being very dubious, and of a civil War uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhance with Me the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Me as any man; though I was like to pay dearer for it than any man: all that I sought to reserve was, Mine Honour, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at Uxbridge gave the faireſt hopes of an happy compoſure; had others applied themſelves to it with the ſame moderation as I did, I am confident the Warre had then ended.

I was willing to condeſcend, as far as Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience, would give Me leave; nor were the remaining differences ſo eſſential to My Peoples happineſſe, or of ſuch conſequence; as in the leaſt kind to have hindred My Subjects either ſecurity, or proſperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years before ever thoſe demands were made, ſome of which, to deny, I thinke the greateſt Juſtice to my ſelfe and favour to my Subjects.

I ſee, Jealouſies are not ſo eaſily allayed, as they are raiſed: Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, than to Engage: what is wanting in equity, muſt be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to loſe in war, ſtudied to render the very name of *peace* odious and ſuſpected.

In Church affaires, where I had leaſt liberty of prudence, having ſo many ſtrict ties of Conſcience upon me; yet I was willing to condeſcend ſo farre to the ſetling of them, as might have given faire ſatisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetouſneſſe, or ſuperſtition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might ſeeme to advance true piety; I only ſought to continue what was neceſſary in point of Order, Maintenance, and Authority to the Churches Government; and what I am perſwaded (as I have elſewhere ſet downe My thoughts more fully) is moſt agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raiſed to its full ſtature

and

and perfection, as alſo to the primitive Apoſtolicall patterne, and the practiſe of the Univerſall Church conforme thereto.

For which wholly to recede, without any probable reaſon urged or anſwered, onely to ſatisfie ſome mens wills and fantaſies (which yet agree not among themſelves in any point, but that of extirpating Epiſcopacy, fighting againſt Me) muſt needs argue ſuch a ſoftneſſe, and infirmity of mind in Me, as will rather part from Gods Truth, than Mans Peace, and rather loſe the Churches honour, than croſſe ſome mens Factious humours.

God knowes, and time will diſcover, who were moſt too blame for the un-ſucceſſefulneſſe of that Treaty, and who muſt beare the guilt of after calamities. I believe, I am very excuſable both before GOD, and all unpaſſionate men, who have ſeriouſly weighed thoſe tranſactions, wherein I endeavoured no leſſe the reſtauration of peace to My people, than the preſervation of my owne Crownes to my Poſterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all faire Condeſcendings, as Arguments of feebleneſſe, & glory moſt in an unflexible ſtiffeneſſe, when they ſee others moſt ſupple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes to aske ſomething, which in reaſon & honour muſt be denied, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted; ſetting Peace at as high a rate, as the worſt effects of War; endeavouring firſt to make Me deſtroy my ſelfe by diſhonourable conceſſions, that ſo they might have the leſſe to doe.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the World ſee, how little I would

deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique Peace. That it gave occaſion to ſome mens further reſtiveneſſe, is imputable to their owne depraved tempers, not to any Conceſſions or Negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refuſed.

The higheſt tide of ſucceſſe ſet Me not above a Treaty, nor the loweſt ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any ſigne of true valour, to be prodigall of mens lives, rather than to be drawne to produce our owne reaſons or ſubſcribe to other mens.

That which made Me for the moſt part preſage the ſucceſsfulneſſe of any Treaty, was, ſome mens unwillingneſſe to Treate: which implyed ſome things were to be gained by the Sword, whoſe unreaſonableneſſe they were loath to have fairely ſcanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, than by Counſellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to uſe ſuch moderation, as was then wanting; that ſo though Peace were for our ſinnes juſtly deferred, yet at laſt it may be happily obtained; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our Prayers,

O Thou, that art the God of Reaſon, and of Peace, who diſdaineſt not to Treat with Sinners preventing them with offers of attonement, and beſeeching them to be reconciled with thy ſelfe: who wanteſt not Power or Juſtice to deſtroy them; yet aboundeſt in mercy to ſave: ſoften our hearts by the blood of our

Redeemer,

Redeemer, and perſwade us to accept of Peace with thy ſelfe, and both to procure and preſerve peace among our ſelves, as Men and Chriſtians. How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I ſpeake thereof, they make them ready to warre.

Condemne us not to our paſſions, which are deſtructive, both of our ſelves, and of others.

Clear up our underſtandings, to ſee thy Truth, both in Reaſon, as Men; and in Religion, as Chriſtians, and encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts againſt thee: and give us that charity which ſhould be among our ſelves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deſerved, and beſtow upon us that Peace, which onely Chriſt our great Peace-maker cannot merit.

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19. *Vpon the various events of the Warre, Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Succeſſes of this unhappy Warre, have at leaſt, afforded Me variety of good Meditations: ſometimes God was pleaſed to try Me with victory, by worſting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation & thanks to own, & uſe his Power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hoſts*; able when he pleaſes to repreſſe the confidence of thoſe, that fought againſt Me, with ſo great advantages for power and number.

From ſmall beginnings on My part he let Me ſee, that I was not wholly forſaken by My peoples love, or his protection.

Other

Other times God was pleaſed to exerciſe My patience, and teach me not to truſt in the arm of Fleſh, but in the living God.

My ſins ſometimes prevailed againſt the juſtice of My Cauſe: and thoſe that were with Me wanted not matter and occaſion for his juſt chaſtiſement both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies leſſe puniſhed by that proſperity, which hardened them to continue that injuſtice by open hoſtility, which was began by moſt riotous, and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt, but perſonall and private ſins may oft-times over-ballance the Juſtice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account every gallant Man (in the worlds eſteem) a fit inſtrument to aſſert in the way of War a righteous Cauſe; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and ſtrength, the leſſe doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glory.

I am ſure the event or ſucceſſe can never ſtate the Juſtice of any Cauſe, nor the peace of Mens Conſciences, nor the eternall fate of their Souls.

Thoſe with Me had (I think) clearely and undoubtedly, for their Juſtification the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring Obedience to My juſt Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Me, or againſt Me, in the point of raiſing Arms.

Thoſe on the other ſide are forced to flye to the ſhifts of ſome pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the preſent fabrick, both of Church and State; being ſuch imaginary Reaſons for ſelf-defence

fence as are moſt impertinent for thoſe men to alledge, who being My Subjects, were manifeſtly the firſt aſſaulters of Me and the Lawes: firſt, by unſuppreſſed Tumults; after, by liſted Forces: The ſame Allegations they uſe, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to ſecond with the Sword, all their demands againſt the preſent Lawes and Governours; which can never be ſuch as ſome ſide or other will not find fault with, ſo as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion againſt them, ſome Paraſitick Preachers have dared to call thoſe Martyrs, who died fighting againſt me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion eſtabliſhed.

But ſober Chriſtians know, That glorious Title, can with Truth, be applied onely to thoſe who ſincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all theſe particulars before their lives, and all that was deare to them in This World; who having no advantageous Deſignes by any Innovation, were Religiouſly ſenſible of thoſe ties to God, the Church and My Selfe, which lay upon their Soules both for Obedience and juſt aſſiſtance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crowne many of them with eternall life, whoſe lives were loſt in ſo juſt a Cauſe; The deſtruction of their bodies being ſanctified, as a meanes to ſave their Soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine ſerving as a gracious opportunity for their eternall health and happineſſe; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually diſpoſe their hearts to ſuch Humility, Faith, and Repentance, which, together with the Rectitude of their preſent

preſent engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that, which their enemies brutiſh and diſloyall fierceneſſe could deprive them of; or without Repentance, hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the field, but never I believe at the bar at Gods Tribunall, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter theſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian gronnds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in* their own thoughts, than they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duly values his duty, his ſoul and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) than the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their and Mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be dayly tormented with that horrid guile wherewith their ſuſpicious or now convicted conſciences do purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the World have ſeen how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretentions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the onely plauſible (though not juſtifiable grounds of raiſing a War, and continuing it thus long againſt Me, and the Lawes eſtabliſhed; in whoſe ſafety and preſervation all honeſt men think the welfare of their country doth conſiſt.

For, and with all which, it is far more honourable and comfortable to ſuffer, than to proſper in their ruine and ſubverſion.

I have often prayed, that all on My ſide might joyn true piety with the ſenſe of their Loalty; and be

be as faithfull to God and their owne ſoules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blaſt the endeavours of the other,

Yet I cannot thinke, that any ſhews, or truth of piety on the other ſide were ſufficent to diſpence with, or expiate the defects of their Duty and Loyalty to Me, which have ſo pregnant convictions on mens Conſciences, that even profaner men are moved by the ſence of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any Victory which was without My ſorrow, becauſe it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Abſolom*, died many of them in their ſin: And yet I never ſuffered any Defeat, which made Me deſpaire of Gods mercy and defence.

I never deſired ſuch Victories, as might ſerve to conquer, but onely reſtore the Lawes and Liberties of My People; which I ſaw were extreamly oppreſſed, together with My Rights by thoſe men, who were impatient of any juſt reſtraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied Me Victory, My deſire was neither to boaſt of My power, nor to charge God fooliſhly; who I beleeve at laſt would make all things to worke together for My good.

I wiſhed no greater advantages by the War, than to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to Peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an abſolute conqueſt, and never prayed more for Victory over others, than over My ſelfe. When the firſt was denied, the ſecond was granted Me, which God ſaw beſt for Me.

The different events were but the methods of divine juſtice, by contrary winds to winow us: That,

by

by punishing our sinnes, he might purge them from us; and by deferring peace, he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed that I delighted not in War; as My former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The Conscience of My Innocency forbad Me to fear a War, but the love of my Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this War of nothing but this, that I gave such advantages to some men by consuming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty and gratitude which became their Loyalty and My confidence.

Had I yielded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denyed more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the Warre; I wish onely a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The unevitable fate of our sins was, (no doubt) such as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutuall conquerings, to destroy one another: for the most prosperous successes on either side, impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sinnes unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till Repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and

and ſo diſpoſe us to an happy concluſion of theſe Civill Wars; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject to Me, than all of us may be ſubject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it ſo.

Teach me the nobleſt victory over my ſelf, and My Enemies by patience, which was Chriſts conqueſt, and may well become a Chriſtian King.

Between both thy hands, the right ſometimes ſupporting, and the left afflicting; faſhion us to that frame of piety, thou likeſt beſt.

Forgive the pride that attends our proſperous, and the repinings which follow our diſaſtrous events; when going forth in our own ſtrength thou withdraweſt thine, and goeſt not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are ſomething, and when we are nothing; that thou mayſt have the glory, when we are in a victorious or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knoweſt how hard it is for me to ſuffer ſo much evill from my Subjects to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but ſuffer in thoſe evils which they compell me to inflict upon them; puniſhing my ſelf in their puniſhments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am ſtill a Sufferer: I beſeech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that meaſure of grace, which onely can be ſufficient for me.

As I am moſt afflicted, ſo make me moſt Reformed, that I may be not onely happy to ſee an end of theſe civill diſtractions, but a chief Inſtrument to reſtore

and

and eſtabliſh a firm and bleſſed Peace to my Kingdoms.

Stirre up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reaſon, moderation, & ſuch ſelf-deniall, as becomes thoſe, who conſider, that our mutuall diviſions are our common diſtractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefeſt intereſt.

If O Lord, as for the ſinnes of our peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War; ſo for the ſins of War thou ſhouldſt ſee fit ſtill to deny us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the World can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to Me the bloud of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſſe and grief hath been ſhed by Me in My juſt and neceſſary defence, but waſh me with that precious bloud which hath been ſhed for me by my great Peace-maker Jeſus Chriſt: who will, I truſt, redeeme Me ſhortly out of all my troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joy of Hypocrites is but a moment,

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20. *Upon the Reformation of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God ſhould not honour Me ſo farre, as to make Me an Inſtrument of ſo good a worke, yet I ſhould be glad to ſee it done.

As I was well pleaſed with this Parliaments firſt intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and

and corruption of manners might have depraved; ſo I am ſorry to ſee after the freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppreſſed, how little regard was had to the good Lawes eſtabliſhed, and the Religion ſetled; which ought to be the firſt rule and ſtandard of reforming: with how much partiality and popular compliance the paſſions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite ſcandall of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government in the Church, what novelties of Schiſmes and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred Adminiſtrations, what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Reuenves of the Church, what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy, what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me have followed (as ſhowres doe warm gleames) the talke of Reformation, all ſober men are Witneſſes and (with My ſelfe) ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury have beene allowed the reputation of Zeale and the Publique ſenſe, ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiality are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Councells and endeavours; what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults of whoſe Counſells as they would have included the Votes of all, ſo 'tis like they would have given moſt ſatisfaction to all.

The Aſſembly of Divines, whom the two Houſes have applyed (in an unwonted way) to adviſe of

Church Affaires, I diſlike not further, than that they are not legally convened and choſen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*, nor with freedome and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot thinke ſo many men cryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Lyturgie and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have ſo ſuddenly agreed quite to aboliſh both of them, (the laſt of which, they knew to be of Apoſtolicall inſtitution, at leaſt; as of Primitive and Univerſall practice) if they had beene left to the liberty of their owne ſuffrages, and if the influence of contrary Factions had not by ſecret encroachments of hopes, & fears, prevailed upon them, to comply with ſo great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common intereſt and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning and Religion againſt examples of all Ancient Churches; the Laws in force, and my conſent; which is never to be gained, againſt ſo pregnant light as in that point ſhines to My underſtanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not ſo cleare and punctuall in precepts, there the Conſtant and Univerſall practiſe of the Church, in things not contrary to Reaſon, Faith, good Manners, or any poſitive Command, is the beſt Rule that Chriſtians can follow.

I was willing to grant or reſtore to Prebytery what with Reaſon or Diſcretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Epiſcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate the Authority of that ancient Order,

I think neither juſt as to Epiſcopacy, nor ſafe for Presbytery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due Reformation had eaſily followed moderate Counſels, and ſuch (I believe) as would have given more content, even to the moſt of thoſe Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens deſignes; which no doubt many of them by this time diſcover, though they dare not but ſmother their fruſtrations and diſcontents.

The ſpecious and popular titles, of Chriſt's Government, Throne, Scepter and Kingdome, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at leaſt) alſo the noiſe of a through Reformation, theſe may as eaſily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which time had ſufficiently defaced; pulling down of Croſſes, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the monuments and inſcriptions of the Dead, which ſerved but to put Poſterity in mind to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Miniſters to their liberties and private abilities in the publick ſervice of God, where no Chriſtian can tell to what he may ſay *Amen*; nor what adventure he may make of ſeeming (at leaſt) to conſent to the Errours, Blaſphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies, which bold and ignorant men liſt to vent in their Prayers, preaching, and other Offices, the ſetting forth alſo of old Catechiſmes and Confeſſions of faith new dreſt, importing as much, as if there had been no ſound or clear Doctrin of Faith in this Church before ſome four or five yeares conſultation had matured their thoughts, touching their firſt Principles of Religion.

All these and the like, are the effects of popular, ſpecious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not ſeem to have nothing to do)and may give ſome ſhort flaſhes of content to the Vulgar, (who are taken with novelties,as Children with Babies,very much, but not very long)But all this amouuts not to,nor can in Juſtice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; ſince they leave all things more deformed, diſorderly, and diſcontented, than when they began, in point of Piety, Morality,Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they eaſily recompence or remedy the inconveniences and miſchiefs, which they have purchaſed ſo dearly,and which have,and ever will neceſſarily enſue, till due remedies be applied.

I wiſh they would at laſt, make it their Unanimous work to do Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been firſt conſidered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But ſome men thought that the Government of this Church and State fixed by ſo many Lawes and long Cuſtomes,would not run into their new moulds, till they had firſt melted it in the fire of a Civil War; by the advantages of which they reſolved,if they prevailed,to make My ſelf and all My Subjects fall down and worſhip the images they ſhould form and ſet up: If there had been as much of Chriſt's Spirit, for meekneſſe, wiſdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his Name uſed in the pretentions, to reform all to Chriſt's Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of God's bleſſing, and produced more of Chiſt's Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Unity of Chriſtians.

Publick Reformers had need firſt Act in private, and

and practiſe that on their own hearts which they purpoſe to try on others; for Deformities within will ſoon betray the Pretenders of publick Reformations to ſuch private deſignes, as muſt needs hinder the Publick good.

I am ſure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot conſiſt with that of perturbing the Civill State, nor can Religion be juſtly advanced, by depreſſing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefeſt Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *Fear God*, is, *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Chriſt's Kingdome may be ſet up without pulling down Mine, nor will any men in impartiall times appear good Chriſtians that approve not themſelves good Subjects.

Chriſts Government will confirm mine, not overthrow it, ſince as I own Mine from Him, ſo I deſire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good.

Had ſome men truly intended Chriſts Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been ſo ill governed in their words and actions, both againſt me and one another.

As good ends cannot juſtifie evill means, ſo nor will evill beginnings bring forth good concluſions, unleſſe God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darkneſſe, Order out of Confuſions, and Peace out of paſſions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canſt give us beauty for aſhes, and Truth for Hipocriſie; ſuffer us not to be miſerably deluded with Phariſaicall waſhings, inſtead of Chriſtian Reformings.

Our greateſt deformities are within, make us the ſevereſt Cenſurers, and firſt Reformers of our owne Soules.

That we may in clearneſſe of judgement, and uprightneſſe of heart be means to reform what is indeed amiſſe in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right ſpirits within us; that we may do all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy bleſſing.

Pity the deformities, which ſome raſh and cruell Reformers have brought upon this Church and State: Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou haſt ſhewed the world by their diviſions and confuſions what is the pravity of ſome mens intentions and weakneſſe of their judgements, ſo bring us at laſt more refined out of theſe fires by the methods of Chriſtian and charitable Reformations; wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetouſneſſe or ſacrilege, may have any influence upon their counſels whom thy providence in juſt and lawfull wayes ſhall entruſt with ſo great, good, and now moſt neceſſary work: that I and My people may be ſo bleſt with inward piety, as may beſt teach us how to uſe the bleſſing of outward peace.

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21. *Upon His Majeſties Letters, taken, and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected; ſo they knew not how with Honour and Civility to uſe it Nor doe I think with ſober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend ſo much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greateſt experiments of Vertue and Nobleneſſe being

ing discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to to expose them to publique view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I study to approve to Gods Omniscience) should be discovered to the World, without any of those dressed or popular captations which some men use in their Speeches and Expresses, I wish My Subjects had yet a cleare sight into My most retired thoughts:

Where they might discover how they are divided betweene the love and care I have, not more to preserve My owne Rights, than to procure their peace and happinesse, and that extreame griefe to see both deceived and destroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be gratified further by My Letters, than to see My constancy to My Wife, the Lawes, and Religion; Bees will gather Honey where the Spider sucks Poison.

That I endeavoured to avoid the pressures of My Enemies by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame Me or the Common-wealth, since My Subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their Peace and Liberties while I am oppressed.

The World may see how soone mens designe, like *Absoloms*, is by enormous actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not onely with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expreſſions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedome in writing ſuch Letters, which may be liabe to envious exceptions; yet the innocency of my chief purpoſes cannot be ſo obtained, or misinterpreted by them, as not to let all men ſee, that I wiſh not hing more than an happy compoſure of differences with Juſtice and Honour, not more to My own, than My Peoples content, who have any ſparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who by thoſe My Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affairs, ſo as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath ſhould be believed of Me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates, and directions of others; whom they pleaſe to brand with the names of Evill Counſellonrs.

Its probable, ſome men will now look upon Me as My own Councellour, and having none elſe to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My ſelf: Although I know they are very unwilling I ſhould enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of My own Conſcience, which they labour to bring into an abſolute captivity to themſelves, not allowing Me to think their counſells to be other than good for Me, which have ſo long maintained a War againſt me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have ſatiated the moſt ambitious thirſt of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom proſperity gaines the

the greateſt eſteem and applauſe; as adveſity expoſeth to their greateſt ſlighting and diſ-reſpect: As if good fortune were alwaies the ſhadow of Vertue and Juſtice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I ſee no ſecular advantages ſeem ſufficient to that cauſe, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories ſo effectuall to their deſignes as thoſe, that moſt rout and waſte my credit with my People; in whoſe hearts they ſeek by all means to ſmother and extinguiſh all ſparks of Love, Reſpect and Loyalty to me, that they may never kindle again, ſo as to recover mine, the laws & the kingdomes Liberties, which ſome men ſeek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a neceſſary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; Firſt I muſt ſeem neither fit to live, nor worthy to Reigne; by exquiſite methods of cunning and cruelty, I muſt be compelled, firſt to follow the Funeralls of my Honour, and then be deſtroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Juſtice can, and will over-rule the moſt perverſe wills and deſigns of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worſt of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor do I think that by the ſurpize of my Letters. I have loſt any more than ſo many Papers: How much they have loſt of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be paid to all men and moſt becomes ſuch as pretend to Religion) beſides that of reſpect and Honour, which they ow to their *King*, preſent, and after-times will judge, and I cannot thinke that their own Conſciences are ſo ſtupid, as not to inflict upon them ſome ſecret im-

impreſſions of that ſhame and diſhonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never ſo much of publique flattery, and popular countenance.

I am ſure they can never expect the divine approbation of ſuch indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God bleſt the modeſt reſpect and filial tenderneſſe which *Noahs* Sonnes bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity juſtifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curſe of being *Servant of Servants*; which curſe muſt needs be on them who ſeeke by diſhonourable actions to pleaſe the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excuſable, or proſperous, who thought, by this means, to expoſe me to the higheſt reproach and contempt of My People: forgeting that duty of modeſt concealment, which they owed to the Father of their Country, in caſe they had diſcovered any real uncomlineſſe; which, I thanke God, they did not; who can, and I beleeve, hath made Me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing My private Letters, to have rendred Me as *a vile Perſon*, not fit to be truſted or conſidered, under any notion of Majeſty.

But thou O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affaires; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſeemeſt to give the malice of my enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſell of Achitophel, *turning it to* Davids *good, and his owne ruine: ſo canſt thou defeat their Deſigne, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but*

to

surrender me more odious and contemptible to my People.

I must first appeal to thy omniscience, who canst witnesse with my integrity how unjust and false those scandalous misconstructions are, which My enemies by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.

Make the evill they imagined and displeasure they intended thereby against Me, so to return on their own heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their own confusion as with a Cloak.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all means to cloud Mine Honour, to pervert My purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crown of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee, in honour or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodnesse and honour; thou art cloathed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency, for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set me; who art the lifter up of my head, and my salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead me to thy glory, which is both true and eternall.

BIBLIOTHECA

22. Upon

22. *Vpon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Me three Kingdoms, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety and Honour rest My Head: Shewing Me that himselfe is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities, I looke not so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast My selfe, and My now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now My Counsellour, and commands Me to study My safety by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefest strength, and adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began My troubles. Happily God may make them a meanes honourably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arme and overcome them: My rendering My Person to Them, may engage their affections to Me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the World see, they meane not what they doe, but what they say.

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellour and My Comforter: Though I put My Body into their hands, yet I shall reserve My Soule to God, and My selfe; nor shall any necessities compell Me to desert Mine Honour, or swerve from My Judgement. What

What they ſought to take by force, ſhall now be given them in ſuch a way of unuſuall confidence of them, as may make them a ſhamed not to be really ſuch, as they ought, and profeſſed to be.

God ſees it not enough to deprive me of all Military power to defend my ſelfe; but to put Me upon uſing their power, who ſeem to fight againſt me, yet ought in duty to defend me.

So various are all humane affaires, and ſo neceſſitous may the ſtate of Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe that have Adhered to me, and apply to thoſe that have Oppoſed me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous than that of Warre, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for my Friends ſaftey, than mine own; chuſing to venture my ſelfe upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremities.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairely to give over, than to conteſt in vaine.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce my Judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeeme to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands.

I thanke God no ſucceſſe, darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhall no leſſe conform my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of a KING ought to be among loyall Subjects, *full of power.*

Reaſon is the divineſt power. I ſhall never thinke my

my self weakned, while I may make full and free use of that. No eclipse of outward fortune shall rob me of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace I hope, will supply with inward resolutions; not morosely to deny what is fit to be granted; but not to grant any thing which Reason and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never think my self lesse than my self while I am able thus to preserve the integritie of my Conscience, the onely Jewel now left me which is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Souls, the onely Commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to doe, yet mine eyes are toward thee: To the protection of thy mercy I still commend my self.

As thou hast preserved me in the day of battell, so thou canst still shew me thy strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night, a pillar of fire to enlighten and direct me, in the day of my hottest affliction, be also a pillar of a cloud to overshadow and protect me; be to me, both a Sun and a shield.

Thou knowest that it is not any perversnesse of Will, but just perswasions of Honour, and Religion, which have made me thus far to hazard my Person, peace and Safety against Those that by force have sought to wrest them from me.

Suffer not my just resolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompany me, in my solitude and desertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reason, and that fortresse of my Soul, which I am intrusted to keep for thee.

Lead me in the paths of thy righteousnesse, and shew me thy salvation.

Make

Make my wayes to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make mine Enemies to be at peace with me.

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23 *Vpon the* Scots *delivering the* King *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I juſtifie thoſe *Scots* to all the World in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never truſted to them further than to men: if I am ſold by them, I am onely ſorry they ſhould doe it; and that My price ſhould be ſo much above My Saviours.

Theſe are but further Eſſayes, which God will have Me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix Me on himſelfe; who never faileth them that truſt in him; Though the Reeds of *Ægypt* breake under the hand of him that leanes on them: yet the Rock of *Iſrael* will be an everlaſting ſtay and defence.

Gods Providence commands Me to retire from all to himſelfe, that in him I may enjoy My ſelf, which I loſe, while I let out My hopes to others.

The ſolitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives Me leiſure enough to ſtudy the Worlds vanity, and inconſtancy.

God ſees 'tis fit to deprive Me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black Liſt of irreligious, and ſacrilegious Princes.

No reſtraint ſhall enſnare My Soule in ſinne; nor gain that of Me, which may make My Enemies more inſolent, My Friends aſhamed, or My Name accuſed.

They have no great Cauſe to triumph, that they have got My Perſon into their power; ſince My Soule

is ſtill My owne: nor ſhall they ever gain My Conſent againſt My Conſcience.

What they call obſtinacy, I know God accounts honeſt conſtancy, from which Reaſon and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid Me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evill Counſellours with Me, but a good Conſcience in Me, which hath been fought againſt; nor did they ever intend to bring Me to My Parliament, till they had brought My mind to their Obedience.

Should I grant what ſome men deſire, I ſhould be ſuch as they wiſh Me; not more a King, and farre leſſe both Man and Chriſtian.

What Tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither ſhall Reſtraint; which though it have as little of ſafety to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men ſhall never be My ſnare; nor ſhall the love of any liberty entangle My Soule: Better others betray Me, than My ſelfe; and that the price of My Liberty ſhould be my Conſcience: the greateſt injuries my Enemies ſeeke to inflict upon me, cannot be wirhont my owne Conſent.

While I can deny with Reaſon, I ſhall defeat the greateſt impreſſions of their malice, who neither know how to uſe worthily, what I have already granted: nor what to require more of me but this, That I would ſeeme willing to help them to deſtroy My ſelfe and Mine.

Although they ſhould deſtroy Me, yet they ſhall have no cauſe to deſpiſe Me.

Neither liberty nor life are ſo deare to me, as the peace of My Conſcience, the Honour of my Crowns, and the welfare of my People; which my Word may injure more than any Warre can doe; while I gratifie a few to oppreſſe all.

The

The Lawes will by Gods bleſſing, revive, with the love and Loyalty of My Subjects; if I bury them not by my conſent, and cover them in that grave of diſhonour, and injuſtice, which ſome mens violence hath digged for them.

If my captivity or death muſt be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miſerable, which carries not with it, his ſouls, his Peoples, and Poſteri-ties thraldome,

After-times may ſee, what the blindneſſe of this Age will not; and God may at length ſhew My Subjects, that I chuſe rather to ſuffer for them, than with them, happily I might redeem my ſelf to ſome ſhew of liberty, if I would enſlave them, I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, than to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whoſe ſolitude hath not left me alone.

For thou, O God infinitely good, and great, art with me, whoſe preſence is better than life; and whoſe ſervice is perfect freedome.

Owne me for thy Servant, and I ſhall never have cauſe to complaine for want of that liberty, which becomes a Man, a Chriſtian, and a King.

Bleſſe me ſtill with Reaſon, as a Man; with Religion, as a Chriſtian; and with Conſtancy in Juſtice, as a King.

Though thou ſuffereſt me to be ſtript of all outward ornaments, yet preſerve me ever in thoſe enjoyments, wherein I may enjoy thy ſelfe; and which, cannot be taken from me againſt my will.

Let no fire of affliction boyle over my paſſion to any impatience, or ſordid feares

There be many ſay of Me, There is no help for Me: doe thou lift up the light of thy Countenace upon Me, and I ſhall never want ſafety, liberty, nor Majeſty.

Give Me that meaſure of patience and conſtancy, which my condition now requires.

My ſtrength is ſcattered, my expectation from men defeated, my Perſon reſtrained: O be not thou far from me, leſt my Enemies prevaile too much againſt me.

I am become a wonder, and a ſcorne to many: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew ſome token upon Me for good, that they that hate me may be aſhamed, becauſe thou Lord haſt holpen and comforted me: eſtabliſh me with thy free Spirit, that I may doe, and ſuffer thy will, as thou wouldſt have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for my Soule truſteth in thee: yea, and in the ſhadow of thy wings will I make my refuge untill theſe calamities be over-paſt.

Ariſe to deliver me, make no long tarrying, O my God. Though thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thy mercy, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadeſt me through the vayle and ſhadow of death, yet ſhall I feare none ill.

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24. *Vpon their denying His Majeſty the Attendance of His Chapläines.*

WHen Providence was pleaſed to deprive Me of all ther civill comforts and ſecular Attendance, I thought the abſence of them all might beſt be ſupplied by the attendance of ſome of My Chaplaines; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cauſe to love. By their learn-

learning, piety, and prayers, I hope to be either better enabled to ſuſtaine the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and uſe of them in Gods good time: ſo reaping by their pious help a ſpirituall harveſt of grace amidſt the thrones, and after the plowings of temporall croſſes.

The truth is, I never needed or deſired more the ſervice and aſſiſtance of men judiciouſly pious, and ſoberly devout.

The ſolitude they have confined Me unto adds the Wilderneſſe to My temptations; For the company they obtrude upon Me, is more ſad than any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, My Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdomes, it had beene no wonder to have beene denied in thoſe things, where the evill policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leaſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurous uſurpation: But to deny Me the Ghoſtly comfort of My Chaplaines, ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity than is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors: whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of worldly comforts, yet the mercy of Religion allowes them the benefit of their Clergy, as not ayming at once to deſtroy their Bodies, and to damne their Soules.

But My Agony muſt not be relieved with the preſence of any one good Angel; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcreet Divine: and ſuch I would have all Mine to be.

They, that envy My being a King, are loath I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while they ſeeke to deprive Me of all things elſe, They are afraid I ſhould ſave My Soul.

Other ſenſe Charity it ſelf can hardly pick out to thoſe many harſh Repulſes I received, as to that

Requeſt ſo often made for the attencance of ſome of my Chaplains.

I have ſometime thought the Unchriſtianneſſe of thoſe denialls might ariſe from a diſpleaſure ſome men had to ſee me prefer My own Divines before their Miniſters: whom, though I reſpect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them ſo proper for any preſent Comforters or Phyſitians; who have (ſome of them at leaſt) had ſo great an influence in occaſioning theſe calamities, and inflicting thoſe wounds upon Me.

Nor are the ſobereſt of them ſo apt for that devotionall compliance and juncture of hearts, which I deſire to bear in thoſe holy Offices, to be performed with Me, and for Me; ſince their judgements ſtanding at a diſtance from Me, or in jealouſie of Me, or in oppoſition againſt Me, their Spirits cannot ſo harmoniouſly accord with Mine, or mine with theirs, either in Prayer, or other holy duties, as is meet, and moſt comfortable; whoſe golden Rule, and bond of Perfection conſiſts in that of mutual Love & Charity.

Some remedies are worſe than the diſeaſe, & ſome comforters more miſerable than miſery it ſelf; when like *Jobs* friends, they ſeek not to fortifie ones mind with patience; but perſwade a man by betraying his own Innocency, to deſpair of Gods mercy; and by juſtifying their injuries, to ſtrengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of inſolent Enemies:

I am ſo much a friend to all Church-men, that have any thing in them beſeeming that ſacred Function that I have hazarded My own Intereſt, chiefly upon Conſcience and Conſtancy to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the ſacrilegious eyes of many cruell and rapacious Reformers; ſo I thought it my duty the more

to

to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am very unhandſomly requited by ſome of them; who may live to repent no leſſe for My ſufferings, than their own ungratefull errours, and that injurious contempt and meanneſſe, which they have brought upon their Calling and Perſons.

I pity all of them, I deſpiſe none: onely I thought I might have leave to make choice of ſome for My ſpeciall Attendants, who were beſt approved in My Judgement, and moſt ſutable to My affection. For, I held it better to ſeem undevout, and to hear no mans prayers, than to be forced, or ſeeme to comply with thoſe petitions; to which the heart cannot conſent, nor the tongue ſay *Amen*, without contradicting a mans own underſtanding, or belying his own ſoul.

In Devotions, I love neither profane boldneſſe, nor pious non-ſenſe; but ſuch an humble, and judicious gravity, as ſhews the Speaker to be at once conſiderate of Gods Majeſty, the Churches honour, and his own Vileneſſe; both knowing what things God allows him to ask, and in what manner it becomes a Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy for himſelf and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with all prayers that ſound imperiouſly, or rudely and paſſionately; as either wanting humility to God, or charity to men, or reſpect to the duty.

I confeſſe I am better pleaſed, as with ſtudied and premeditated Sermons, ſo with ſuch publick forms of Prayer as are fitted to the Churches, and every Chriſtians daily and common neceſſities; becauſe I am by them better aſſured, what I may joyn My hearr unto, than I can be of any mans extemporary ſufficiency; which I do not wholly exclude from publick occaſions, ſo I allow its juſt liberty and uſe in

private and devout retirements; where neither the ſolemnity of the duty, nor the modeſt regard to others, do require ſo great exactneſſe as to the outward manner of performance Though the light of underſtanding, and the fervency of affection, I hold the main, and moſt neceſſary requiſites both in conſtant and occaſionall, ſolitary, and ſociall Devotions.

So that I muſt needs ſeem to all equall minds with as much Reaſon to prefer the ſervice of my owne Chaplains before that of their Miniſters, as I do the Liturgy before their Directory.

In the one I have been alwayes educated and exerciſed; in the other I am not yet Catechiſed, nor acquainted: And if I were, yet ſhould I not by that, as by any certain rule, and Canon of devotion, be able to follow or find out the indirect extravagancies of moſt of thoſe men, who highly cry up that as a piece of rare compoſure and uſe; which is already as much deſpiſed and diſuſed by many of them, as the Common-prayer ſometimes was by thoſe men; a great part of whoſe piety hung upon that popular pin of railing againſt, and contemning the Government, and Liturgy of this Church. But I had rather be condemned to the woe of *Væ ſoli* than to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by ſeeming to pray what I do not approve.

It may be, I am eſteemed by My Denyers ſufficient of my ſelfe to diſcharge my duty to God as a Prieſt, though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices Regall and Sacerdotall might well become the ſame Perſon; as ancient they were under one name, and the united rights of primogeniture: Nor could I follow better preſidents, If I were able, than thoſe two eminent Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns,

Crowns, than one was for devout Pſalmes; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and aſſumed the name of a Prophet, the other of a Preacher. Titles indeed of greater honour, where rightly placed, than any one of thoſe the Roman Emperours affected from the Nations they ſubdued: it being infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to Gods Church by the Word, than to conquer men to a ſubjection by the Sword.

Yet ſince the order of Gods wiſdome and providence hath, for the moſt part alwayes diſtinguiſhed the gifts and offices of Kings, of Prieſts, of Princes and Preachers; both in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Churches; I am ſorry to find my ſelf reduced to the neceſſity of being both, or enjoying neither.

For ſuch as ſeek to deprive me of Kingly Power and Soveraignty; would no leſſe enforce me to live many Moneths without all Prayers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unleſſe I become My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergy the protection of a Chriſtian King, ſo I deſire to enjoy from them the benefit of their gifts and prayers; which I look upon as more prevalent than My own or other mens; by how much they flow, from minds more enlightned, and affections leſſe diſtracted, than thoſe which are encombred with ſecular affairs: beſides, I think a greater bleſſing and acceptableneſſe attends thoſe duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that calling, to which God and the Church have ſpecially deſigned and conſecrated ſome men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soule is ſubject to Chriſt, and through his merits daily offers it ſelf, and its ſervices to God, every private believer is a King and a Prieſt, inveſted with the honor of a royall Prieſthood:

yet, as to Eccclesiasticall order, and the outward polity of the Church, I think confusion in Religion will as certainly follow every mans turning Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where every one affects to rule as King.

I was alwayes bred to more modest, and I thinke, more pious Principles: the consciousnesse to My spirituall defects makes me more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holy and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford me, especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of my Subjects to reduce me; so as to leave them nothing more but my life to take from me: and to leave me nothing to desire, which I thought might lesse provoke their jealousie and offence to deny me, than this of having some meanes afforded me for my souls comfort and support.

To which end I made choice of men, as no way (that I know) scandalous, so every way eminent for their learning and piety, no lesse than for their Loyalty: nor can I imagine any exceptions to be made against them but onely this, That they may seem too able and too well affected toward me & my service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced me to serve my self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief & impatience the want of my Chaplains, than of any other my servants; and next (if not beyond in some things) to the being sequestred from my Wife and children; since from these indeed more of humane & temporary affections, but from those more of heavenly and eternall improvements may be expected.

My comfort is, that in the inforced (not neglected) want of ordinary means, God is wont to afford extraordinary supplies of his gifts and graces.

If

If his Spirit will teach Me and help My infirmiries in prayer, reading and meditation, (as I hope he will) I ſhall need no other, either Oratour or Inſtructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, doe I direct My now ſolitary prayers; what I want of others help, ſupply with the more immediate aſſiſtances of thy Spirit, which alone can both enlighten My darkneſſe, and quicken My dulneſſe.

O thou Sun of righteouſneſſe, thou ſacred Fountaine of heavenly light and heat, at once cleare and warme My heart, inſtructing of Me and interceding for me: In thee is all fulneſſe: From thee all-ſufficiencie: By thee is all acceptance. Thou art company enough: Thou art my King, be alſo my Prophet and my Prieſt. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The ſingle wreſtling of Jacob *prevailed with thee, in that ſacred Duell, when he had none to ſecond him but thy ſelf; who didſt aſſiſt him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wreſt a bleſſing from thee.*

O looke on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy, whom thou didſt once bleſſe with the joynt and ſociate Devotions of others, whoſe fervency might inflame the coldneſſe of my affections towards thee; when we went to, or met in thy Houſe with the voice of joy and gladneſſe, worſhipping thee in the unitie of ſpirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of thoſe happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleaſure that I ſhould be as a Pelican in the wilderneſſe, as a Sparrow on the houſe top, and as a coale ſcattered from all thoſe pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might beſt kindle, preſerve,

ſerve and encreaſe the holy fire of thy graces, in the altar of my heart, whence the ſacrifice of prayers and incenſe of praiſes, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet O thou that breakeſt not the bruiſed Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking Flax, do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my prayers, nor the ſmotherings of my ſoul in this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to which I am conſtrained by ſome mens uncharitable denialls of thoſe helps, which I much want, and no leſſe deſire.

O let the hardneſſe of their hearts occaſion the ſoftnings of mine to thee, and for them. Let their hatred kindle my love, let their unreaſonable denialls of my Religious deſires the more excite my prayers to thee. Let their inexorable deafneſſe encline thine ear to me; who art a God eaſie to be entreated; thine ear is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it wil not hear; nor thy hand ſhortned, that it cannot help Me thy deſolate Suppliant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive me of thoſe outward means, which thou haſt appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar me from that communion of inward grace, which thou alone breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt teach me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt help me: The broken and contrite heart I know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord, canſt at once make me thy Temple, thy prieſt thy ſacrifice, and thine Altar, while from an humble heart I (alone) dayly offer up in holy meditations, fervent prayers, and unfeigned teares my ſelf to thee; who prepareſt me for thee, dwelleſt in me, and accepteſt of me.

Thou O Lord, didſt cauſe by ſecret ſupplies, and miraculous infuſions, that the handfull of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend, nor the little oyl in the cruſe faile the Widow during the time of drought and dearth. O

O look on my ſoul, which as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths I have formerly learned, now fail My memory, nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I have ſometime felt, now be wanting to my heart in this famine of ordinary and wholſome food for the refreſhing of my ſoul

Which yet I had rather chuſe than to feed from thoſe hands, who mingle my bread with aſhes, and my wine with gall; rather tormenting than teaching me; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of me, than to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knoweſt, O Lord of truth, how oft they wreſt thy holy Scriptures to my deſtruction, (which are clear for thy ſubjection, and my preſervation) O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under colour of long prayers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King and their God.

O let not thoſe mens balms break my head, nor their Cordialls oppreſſe my heart, I will evermore pray againſt their wickedneſſe.

From the poyſon under their tongues, from the ſnares of their lips, from the fire, and the ſwords of their words ever deliver me, O Lord, and all thoſe Loyall and Religious hearts, who deſire and delight in the proſperity of my ſoul, and who ſeek by their prayers to relieve this ſadneſſe, and ſolitude of thy Servant, O my King and my God.

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25. Penitentiall Meditations and Vowes in the Kings ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words, O Lord, conſider my meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King, and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou O Lord ſhouldſt be extream to marke what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is Mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledge my ſinnes before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonall, & my Peoples ſins; which are ſo far mine, as I have not improved the power thou gaveſt me, to thy glory and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought me from the glory and freedom of a King, to be a Priſoner to my own Subjects: Juſtly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, becauſe in many things I have rebelled againſt thee.

Though thou haſt reſtrained my Perſon, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I come farre ſhort of Davids *piety; yet ſince I may equall* Davids *afflictions, give me alſo the comforts and the ſure mercies of* David.

Let the penitent ſenſe I have of my ſins, be an evidence to me, that thou haſt pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and my Kingdomes have ſuffered, ſeem little unto thee; though thou haſt not puniſhed us according to our ſins.

Turne thee (O Lord) unto me; have mercy upon me, for I am deſolate and afflicted.

The ſorrowes of my heart are enlarged; O bring me out of my troubles.

Haſt thou forgotten to be gracious, and ſhut up thy loving kindneſſe in diſpleaſure?

O remember thy compaſſions of old, and thy loving kindneſſes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleved to see thy goodnesse in the Land of the living.

Let not the sins of our prosperity deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions,

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse, which in long peace and plenty we had contracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet withdraw not thy grace; what is wanting of prosperity, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned away, but thy hand of Justice must be stretched out still: Let it I beseech thee be against me, and my Fathers house: as for these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of mine, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the measure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Revenge, that I may not lose the reward, nor Thou the Glory of my Patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive them, so I beseech thee doe thou forgive what they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given me an heart to pray unto thee: so heare and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me, and my Kingdomes: in continuing the light of thy Gospell, and setling thy true Religion among Us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glory of my Predecessours.

If

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy ſelf in Piety, to me in Loyalty, and to one another in Charitie.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of theſe Civill Warres.

If thou wilt bleſſe us with the freedome of publick Counſels, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the inſolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keepe me from the great offence of enacting any thing againſt my Conſcience; and eſpecially from conſenting to ſacrilegious rapines, and ſpoylings of thy Church.

If thou wilt reſtore me to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to the Church and State.

Then ſhall my Soule praiſe thee, and magnifie thy Name before my People.

Then ſhall thy glory be dearer to me than my Crowns; and the advancement of true Religion both in puritie and power be my chiefeſt care.

Then will I rule my People with Juſtice, and my Kingdomes with equitie.

To thy more immediate hand ſhall I ever owe as the righfull ſucceſſion, ſo the mercifull reſtauration of my Kingdomes, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring me againe with peace, ſafety, and honour to my chiefeſt Citie, and Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Juſtice into my hands to puniſh and protect.

Then will I make all the world to ſee, and my very Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and reſolution of Chriſtian charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I doe freely pardon for Chriſt's ſake thoſe that have offended me in any kind; ſo my hand ſhall never be againſt any man to revenge what is paſt, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

We

We have beene mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all meanes in the wayes of amnesty and indempnity, which may most fully remove all feares, and burie all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mecies be toward Me and mine, as My Resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Heare my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out o feigned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soule, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lard hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy Name.

May My People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Vpon the Armies Surprisall of the* King *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City.*

WHat part God will have Me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man, who onely seekes to represent a part of honesty and honour.

This surprize of Me tells the world, that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Parry where he appeares.

This

This motion, like others of the Times, ſeemes excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be reſiſted or quieted: Better ſwim downe ſuch a ſtreame, than in vaine to ſtrive againſt it.

Theſe are but ſtruglings of thoſe twins, which lately one womb encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevaile againſt the elder; what the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeeke to catch for themſelves.

So impoſſible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of Union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder; but for thoſe that pretend to build *Jeruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *Omen*; and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitterneſſe and diviſions were the greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatall deſtructiou of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Priſon, but not My captive condition, only with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the peoples liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the liberty of their King; what they demand for their own Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon deny to Mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous, than the Preſbyterian rigour, who, ſometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to Lawes, are become the greateſt Exactors of other mens ſubmiſſion to their novell injunctions, before they are ſtamped with the Authority of Lawes, which they cannot well have without My Conſent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themſelves manumitted from their Rivals ſervice in that

that they carry on a buſineſſe or ſuch conſequence, as the aſſuming My Perſon into the Armies cuſtody, without any Commiſſion, but that of their own will and power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, muſt not be thought over-modeſt, or timerous to carry on a deſigne they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and ſcares both the two Houſes and City: which ſoone after acting over againe that former part of tumultuary motions, (never queſtioned, puniſhed, or repented) muſt now ſuffer for both; and ſee their former ſin in the glaſſe of the preſent terrours & diſtractions. No man is ſo blind as not to ſee herein the hand of divine Juſtice; they that by Tumults firſt occaſioned the raiſing of Armies, muſt now be chaſtened by their owne Army for new tumults. So hardly can men be content with one ſin but adde ſin to ſin, till the latter puniſh the former; ſuch as were content to ſee Me & many Members of both Houſes driven away by the firſt unſuppreſſed Tumults, are now forced to fly to an Army, or defend themſelves againſt them. But who can unfold the riddle of ſome mens Juſtice? the Members of both Houſes who at firſt withdrew, (as My ſelf was forced to do) from the rudeneſſe of the tumults, were counted Deſertors, & outed of their places in Parliament. Such as ſtay'd then, & enjoy'd the benefit of the Tumults, were aſſerted for the only Parliament-men: now the Fliers from, & Forſakers of their places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complain highly againſt the tumults, & vindicate themſelves by an Army: ſuch as remained and kept their ſtations, are looked upon as abettors of tumultary inſolencies, & betrayers of the freedom and honour of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where Men looke more to preſent Advantages,

than their Conſciences, and the uncharitable rules of Juſtice; while they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themſelves.

Now the plea againſt Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abbettors of them are guilty of prodigious inſolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and neceſſary Aſſiſtants.

I ſee Vengeance purſues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are ſaid to haue done a Biſhop in *Germany*) them that thought to have eſcaped and fortified themſelves moſt impregnably againſt it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Lawes cannot, God will puniſh, by their owne crimes and hands.

I cannot but obſerve this divine Juſtice, yet with ſorrow and pity; for, I alwayes wiſhed ſo well to the Parliament and City, that I was ſorry to ſee them doe, or ſuffer, any thing unworthy ſuch great and conſiderable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to ſee them only ſcared and humbled, not broken by that ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a thought of thoſe Cities as to deſpaire of their Loyalty to Me; which miſtakes might eclipſe, but I never believed malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorme be yet wholly paſſed over them; upon whom I looke, as Chriſt did ſometimes over *Jeruſalem*, as objects of My prayers and teares. with compaſſionate griefe, fore-ſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcatterings which will certainly befall ſuch as wantonly refuſe to be gathered to their duty: fatall blindneſſe frequently attending and puniſhing willfull, ſo that men ſhall not be able at laſt to prevent their ſorrowes who would not timely repent of their ſinnes; nor ſhall they be ſuffered to enjoy the comforts, who ſecurely neglect the counſels belonging to their

their peace. They will find that Brethren in iniquity are not farre from becomming insolent enemies, there being nothing harder then to keepe ill men in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gaine a faire period for these notions which go rather in a round and circle of fansie, than in a right line of reason tending to the Law, the onely center of publique consistency; whither I pray God at last bring all sides.

Which will easily be done, when we shall fully see how much more happy we are, to be subject to the knowne Lawes, than to the various wills of any men, seem they never so plausible at first.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant wayes, like violent motions in nature, soone grows weary of it selfe, and ends in a refractory fullennesse: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who first put them upon those violent strokes.

For the Army (which is so farre excusable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and interests, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I thinke it necessary, in order to the Publique Peace, that they should be satisfied, as farre as is just; no man being more prone to consider than My Selfe: though they have fought against Me, yet I cannot but so farre esteeme that valour and gallantry they have sometimes shewed, as to wish I may never want such men to maintaine My Selfe, My Lawes, and My Kingdomes in such a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their share and proportion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Unity in a sacred Trinity, in mercy behold those, whom Thy Justice hath divided.

Deliver me from the ſtrivings of my People, and make me to ſee how much they need my prayers and pity, who agreed to fight againſt me, and yet are now ready to fight againſt one another; to the continuance of my Kingdomes diſtractions.

Diſcover to all ſides the wayes of peace from which they have ſwarved: which conſiſts not in the divided wills of Parties, but in the joynt and due obſervation of the Lawes.

Make me willing to goe whither thou wilt lead me by thy providence; and be thou ever with me, that I may ſee thy conſtancy in the worlds variety and changes.

Make me ſuch even as thou wouldſt have me, that I may at laſt enjoy that ſafety and tranquillity which thou alone canſt give me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy heavy wrath juſtly hanging over thoſe populous Cities, whoſe plenty is prone to adde fewell to their luxury, their wealth to make them wanton for their multitudes tempting them to ſecurity, and their ſecurity expoſing them to unexpected miſeries.

Give them eyes to ſee, hearts to conſider, wils to embrace, and courage to act thoſe things, which belong to thy glory and the publick peace, leſt their calamitie come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, that they cannot want enemies who abound in ſinne, nor ſhall they be long undiſarmed and undeſtroyed, who with a high hand perſiſting to fight againſt thee and the cleare convictions of their owne conſciences, fight more againſt themſelves, than ever they did againſt me.

Their ſins expoſing them to thy juſtice, their riches to other injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confuſion.

Though

Though they have with much forwardneſſe helped to deſtroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine

Let me not ſo much conſider, either what they have done, or I have ſuffered (chiefly at firſt by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon, and My dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they have denied Me in my ſaddeſt condition, give them grace to beſtow upon themſelves, who the leſſe they weep for Me, the more cauſe they have to weepe for themſelves.

O let not my blood be upon them and their Children, whom the fraud and faction of ſome, not the malice of all, have excited to crucifie me.

But thou O Lord canſt, and wilt (as thou didſt my Redeemer) both exalt and perfect me by my ſufferings, which have more in them of thy Mercy, than of mans cruelty or thy owne Juſtice.

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27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOnne, if theſe Papers, with ſome others, wherein I have ſet down the private reflections of my Conſcience, and my moſt impartiall thoughts, touching the chief paſſages, which have been moſt remarkable, or diſputed in My late Troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly deſign'd; they may be ſo far uſefull unto You, as to ſtate Your Judgement aright in what hath paſſed; whereof, a pious is the beſt uſe can be made; and they may alſo give You ſome directions, how to remedy the preſent diſtempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of My long restraint, when I find My leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of My self, and useful to You; that neither you, nor any other may hereafter measure My Cause by the Successe; nor my Judgement of things by my misfortunes; which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon You, and some Others whom I have most cause to love as well as My self; and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of mine own.

But this advantage of wisdome You have above most Princes; that You have begun and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Piety and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in Winter, than in warmth and serenity of times, or amidst those delights, which usually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with some leaves, and withering formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdome; the other softned by the unparalelled prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in Summer, whom adversity like cold weather drives away.

I had rather You ſhould be *Charles le Bon*, than *le Grand*, good than great; I hope God hath deſigned You to be both, having ſo early put You into that exerciſe of his Graces and Gifts beſtowed upon You, which may beſt weed out all vicious inclinations, and diſpoſe You to thoſe Princely endowments, and employments, which will moſt gain the love, and intend the welfare of thoſe, over whom God ſhal place you.

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraigne diſpoſer of the Kingdoms of the World, who pulleth down One, and ſetteth up Another.

The beſt Government, and higheſt Soveraignty you can attain to; is, to be ſubject to him that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit, may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes conſiſts in advancing Gods glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Alſo in the diſpenſation of civill Power, with Juſtice and Honour to the publick peace.

Piety will make you proſperous, at leaſt it will keep you from being miſerable; nor is he much a loſer, that loſeth all, yet ſaveth his own ſoul at laſt.

To which centre of true happineſſe, God I (truſt) hath, and will graciouſly direct all theſe black lines of affliction, which he hath been pleaſed to draw on Me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himſelf. You have already taſted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Phyſick, having that in healthfulneſſe which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all I would have you, as I hope you are already wel-grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which I have ever eſteemed that of *the Church of England* in which you have

been educated; yet I would have your own Judgement and Reaſon ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, and not other mens cuſtome or tradition which you profeſſe.

In this I charge you to perſevere, as coming neareſt to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not be more neceſſary for your ſouls than your Kingdomes Peace when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angel of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out Zeal.

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſetled, You ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you & yours, under pretentions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeems even to worſt men, as the beſt & moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the novelty which is taking enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought Zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the

Church

Church well ſetled; your partiall adhering, as Head, to any one Side, gains you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their Kings Religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think themſelves, and their profeſſion firſt deſpiſed then perſecuted by you: Take ſuch a courſe as may either with calmneſſe and charity quite remove the ſeeming differences and offences by impartiality, or ſo order affairs in point of power, that you ſhall not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their courteſie you are undone. The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect leſſe of loyalty juſtice or humanity than from thoſe, who engage into religious rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods; under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march; not onely with greateſt ſecurity, but applauſe, as to the populacy; you may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but you ſhall feel they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſſe conſiderable than the Preſbyterian Faction in *England*, for many years, ſo compliant they were to publique order: nor indeed was their party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgements: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſes inflamations) ſo did all, at firſt, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Maſter, till time and military ſucceſſe diſcovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part ſtakes: and leaving the joynt ſtock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profit & preferments,

ments,to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it ſelf, which ſeemed and hoped at firſt to have engroſſed all.

Let nothing ſeem little or deſpicable to you in matters which concern Religion, and the Churches peace,ſo as to neglect a ſpeedy reforming and effectuall ſuppreſſing Errrours and Schiſmes, which ſeem at firſt but as a hand breadth, by ſeditious Spirits,as by ſtrong winds are ſoon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done Juſtice to God, your own ſoul and his Church, in the profeſſion and preſervation both of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your proſperity will depend, and move, is, that of Civill Juſtice,wherein the ſetled Lawes of theſe Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the moſt excellent rules you can govern by;which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects induſtry, liberty and happineſſe;and yet reſerve enough to the Majeſty, and Prerogative of any King, who owns his People as Subjects, not as ſlaves; whoſe Subjection as it preſerves their property, peace, and ſafety, ſo it will never diminiſh your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which conſiſts in the enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the benefit of thoſe Lawes, to which themſelves have conſented.

Never charge your Head with ſuch a crown, as ſhall by its heavineſſe oppreſſe the whole body,the weakneſſe of whoſe parts cannot return any thing of ſtrength,honour or ſafety to the Head, but a neceſſary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is beſt ſhewed, and exerciſed in remitting,rather than exacting the rigor of the Laws; there being nothing worſe than Legall Tyranny.

In

In these two points the preservation of established Religion, and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My own Conscience; The Troublers of My Kingdoms have nothing else to object against Me but this, that I prefer Religion and Laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, & ever shal, til I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards Me, Tumults, Armies, & Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in whibh is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deal with Me, as to the removall of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of My Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much sollicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in My soul, what is I believe right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and safety, that in Reason, Honour and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injury to My own Soul, the Church and My People, and to you also, as the next undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time after My decease bring You as I hope he will; My counsell and charge to You, is, that you seriously consider the former, reall or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that you may avoid them.

never

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſell, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affairs of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelf, or others, a diffidence of Your own Judgement, which is likely alwayes to be more conſtant and impartiall to the *intereſts* of Your Crown and Kingdome than any mans.

Next beware of exaſperating any Factions by the the croſſeneſſe and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and Suburbs of Religion. Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutours, who are commonly aſſiſted with that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Lawes and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentialls of them, ſuch motions and minings are intollerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and juſtice.

Take heed that outward circumſtances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the beſt encouragements of learning, induſtry, and piety; but with an equall eye and impartiall hand diſtribute favours and rewards to all men as you find them for their reall goodnes both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be ſure to gain you the hearts of the beſt

beſt and moſt too; who, though they be not good themſelves, yet are glad to ſee the ſeverer wayes of vertue at any time ſweetned by temporall rewards.

I have You ſee, conflicted with different and oppoſite Factions; (for ſo I muſt needs call and count all thoſe, that act not in any conformity to the Laws eſtabliſhed, in Church and State) no ſooner have they by force ſubdued what they counted their common Enemy, (that is, all thoſe that adhered to the Laws, and to me) and are ſecured from that fear, but they are divided to ſo high a rivalry, as ſets them more at defiance againſt each other, than againſt their firſt Antagoniſts.

Time will diſſipate all Factions, when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious deſignes, ſhall diſcover themſelves; which were at firſt wrapt up and hidden under the ſoft and ſmooth pretentions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: as the Wolf is not leſſe cruell, ſo he will be more juſtly hated, when he ſhall appear no better than a Wolf under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the ſeduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their ſimplicity follow thoſe diſguiſes; My charge and counſell to you, is, That as you need no palliations for any deſignes, (as other men) ſo that you ſtudy really to exceed (in true and conſtant demonſtrations of goodneſſe, piety, and vertue, towards the People) even all thoſe men, that make the greateſt noiſe and oſtentations, of Religion; ſo You ſhall neither feare any detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodneſſe) nor ſhall you fruſtrate the juſt expectations of your People; who cannot in Reaſon promiſe themſelves ſo much good from any Subjects novelties as from the vertuous conſtancy of their King.

When

When theſe mountaines of congealed factions ſhall by the Sun-ſhine of Gods Mercy, and the Splendour of Your vertues be thawed and diſſipated; and the abuſed Vulgar ſhall have learned, That none are greater Oppreſſours of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Conſciences than thoſe men, that entitle themſelves, The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to uſurpe power over them; Let then no paſſion betray You to any ſtudy of revenge upon thoſe, whoſe owne ſinne and folly will ſufficiently puniſh them in due time.

But as ſoone as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, uſe all princely arts, and clemency to heal the wounds; that the ſmart of the cure may not equall the anguiſh of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnity, and Oblivion, to ſo great a latitude, as may include all, that can but ſuſpect themſelves to be any way obnoxious to the Lawes; and which might ſerve to exclude all future Jealouſies and inſecurities.

I would have You alwayes propenſe to the ſame way, when ever it ſhall be deſired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and neceſſity, but of Chriſtian charity and choice,

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive thoſe, that have deprived Me of all; and I thank God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in his grace, which God hath given Me, as in all My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any proſperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the moſt of all ſides, who have done amiſſe, have done ſo, not out of malice, but miſ-information, or miſ-apprehenſion of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to Me and You, than thoſe Subjects, who ſenſible of their Errours,

rours, and our injuries, will feele in their owne Souls moſt vehement motives to repentance; and earneſt deſires to make ſome reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality ſets You beyond any Duell with any Subject: ſo the nobleneſſe of Your mind muſt raiſe You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your owne merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all Love and Loyalty from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages: You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This I write to You, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and My Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will ſtudy to deſerve, yet We cannot merit of God, but by his owne mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me, and You after Me, to thoſe enjoyments, which the Lawes have aſſigned to Us; and no Subjects without any high degree of guilt and ſin can deveſt Us of; then may I have better opportunity, when I ſhall be ſo happy to ſee You in peace, to let You more fully underſtand the things that belong to Gods glory, Your owne honour, and the Kingdomes peace.

But if you never ſee My face againe, and God will have Me buried in ſuch a barbarous impriſonment and obſcurity, (which the perfecting ſome mens deſignes require) wherein few hearts that love Me are permitted to exchange a word, or a looke with Me; I doe require and intreat you as your Father, and KING, that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check againſt, or diſaffection from the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much ſearch, & many diſputes, have concluded it to the be beſt in the World; not onely in the Community, as Chriſtian, but alſo in the ſpeciall notion, as Reformed; keeping the middle way betweene the pomp of ſuperſtitious Tyranny, and the meaneſſe of fantaſtique Anarchy.

None but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Goverment in the Church of *England*) ſome lines, as in very good figures, may haply need ſome ſweetning, or poliſhing; which might here have eaſily beene done by a ſafe and gentle hand; if ſome mens precipitancy had not violently demanded ſuch rude alterations, as would have quite deſtroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to You againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in ENGLAND, is eaſily Anſwered to them, or Your owne thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late war againſt the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in ENGLAND: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeal abate Your value and eſteem of true Piety, both of them are to be *knowne by their fruits*; the ſweetneſſe of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be deſpiſed, though the Brambles and Thornes ſhould pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor

Nor would I have you to entertain any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution with Freedome and honour, will never injure or diminiſh your greatneſſe, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impreſſions: The ſad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) ſince the publick intereſt conſiſts in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in fair, grave, and Honourable wayes to contribute their Counſells in common, enacting all things by publick conſent; without tyranny or Tumults. We muſt not ſtarve our ſelves, becauſe ſome men have ſurfeited of wholſome food.

And if neither I, nor you, be ever reſtored to Our Right, but God in his ſevereſt juſtice will puniſh my Subjects with continuance in their ſin, and ſuffer them to be deluded with the proſperity of their wickedneſſe; I hope God will give you and me that grace, which will teach and enable Us to want, as well as to wear a Crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon ſordid diſhonourable, or irreligious tearms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, you ſhall never want a Kingdome.

A principall point of your honour will conſiſt in

Your deferring all reſpect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many wayes deſerved well of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a meanes to bleſſe Me with ſo many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to ſuffer both for, and with Me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is,(whatever becomes of Me, who am, I thank God,wrapt up and fortified in My own Innocency,and his Grace)that he would be pleaſed to make You an Anchor; or Harbour rather, to theſe toſſed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by your Wiſdome,Juſtice,Piety, and Valour, of what the folly and weakneſſe of ſome men have ſo farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State, to the Crowne, and Nobility, the Clergy or the Commons;either as to Laws,Liberties, Eſtates, Order, Honour, Conſcience, or Lives.

When they have deſtroyed Me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed,and ſuch apprehenſions ſome mens words and actions have already given Me, (as I doubt not but My bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; ſo I beſeech God not to poure out hiswrath upon the generality of the people,who have either deſerted Me, or engaged againſt Me, through the artifice and hypocriſie of their Leaders,whoſe inward horrour will be their firſt Tormenter, nor will they eſcape exemplary Judgements.

For thoſe that loved Me,I pray God,they may have no miſſe of Me, when I am gone; ſo much I wiſh and hope, that all good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of Your preſence and vertues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty toward

toward Me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King, so I beleeve You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with interest that Loyalty and Love to You, which was due to Me.

In summe, what good I intended, doe You performe, when God shall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soone vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appeares, since My Restraint and cruell usage, that they sought not for Me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their sinne and their infelicity.*

I pray God blesse You, and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousnesse, Your Soul in true Religion, & Your Honour in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by My destruction; let My Memory ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that loves you: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter & Government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crown, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, which I thank God, is dearer to Me than a thousand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will restore Me

to My Rights. I cannot deſpaire either of his mercy, or of my Peoples love and pity.

At worſt I truſt I ſhall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell till We meet, if not on Earth yet in Heaven.

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28. *Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addreſſes, and His Majeſties cloſer Impriſonment in* Carisbrooke-Caſtle.

AS I have leiſure enough, ſo I have cauſe more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for my Death: for I know there are but few ſteps between the Priſons, and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives me the ſpace but mans cruelty, that gives me the ſad occaſions for theſe thoughts.

For, beſides the common burthen of mortality which lies upon Me, as a Man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealouſies and cruell paſſions, whoſe envy or enmity againſt me makes their own lives ſeem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of Mine.

I thank God my proſperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality.

Thoſe are never unſeaſonable, ſince this is alwaies uncertain: Death being an eclipſe which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudie dayes.

But my now long and ſharp adverſity hath ſo reconciled in me thoſe naturall Antipathies betweene Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thanke

God

God the common terrours of it are diſpelled, and the ſpeciall horrour of it, as to my particular, much allayed: for, although my death at preſent may juſtly be repreſented to me with all thoſe terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I bleſſe God, I can look upon all thoſe ſtings, as unpoyſonous, though ſharp; ſince my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the Antidote of his death againſt them, which as to the immaturity, injuſtice, ſhame, ſcorne, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can fear.

Indeed I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a Judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old as to be weary of life, nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die; or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to die: if I did not conſider, That is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtian life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us overlive our own fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, ſafety, or eſtate; and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives,

Though, as a KING I think my ſelf to live in nothing temporall ſo much, as in the love & good will of My People; for which as I have ſuffered many deaths, ſo I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithſtanding My Enemies have uſed all the poiſon of falſity and violence of hoſtility to

deſtroy, firſt the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in me, which from theſe I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and ſhell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all thoſe worldly comforts, for which life it ſelf ſeems deſirable to men.

But O my Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to do, yet to ſuffer with ſuch Chriſtian patience and magnanimity in a good Cauſe, as are the greateſt honour of our lives, and the beſt improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Chriſtian valour, it argues puſillanimity to deſire to die out of wearineſſe of life, and a want of that heroick greatneſſe of ſpirit which becomes a Chriſtian in the patient and generous ſuſtaining thoſe afflictions, which as ſhadows neceſſarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are leſſened or inlarged as the Sun of our proſperity moves higher. or lower: whoſe totall abſence is beſt recompenced with the Dew of Heaven.

The aſſaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Samſon's* Lion, but they yield much ſweetneſſe to thoſe that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without diſcontent or peeviſhneſſe, while they may yet converſe with God.

That I muſt die as a Man is certain; that I may die a King by the hand of My own Subjects, a violent, ſudden, and barbarous death; in the ſtrength of My years; in the midſt of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helpleſſe Spectatours; My Enemies inſolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me living, dying

dying,& dead is ſo probable in humane Reaſon,that God hath taught Me not to hope otherwiſe, as to mans cruelty:however I deſpair not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice,but yet under Gods ſole cuſtody and diſpoſall: whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by ſeeming prepared to die; but I humbly deſire to depend upon him, and to ſubmit to his will both in life and death, in what order ſoever he is pleaſed to lay them out to Me. I confeſse it is not eaſie for Me to contend with thoſe many horrours of death; wherewith God ſuffers me to be tempted;which are equally horrid, either in a ſuddenneſse of a barbarous Aſſaſſination; or in thoſe greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (being more ſolemnly cruell) will, it may be ſeek to adde (as thoſe did who crucified Chriſt) the mockery of Juſtice, to the cruelty of Malice: That I may be deſtroyed, as with greater pomp and artifice, ſo with leſſe pity, it will be but a neceſsary policy to make my death appear as an act of Juſtice,done by Subjects upon their Soveraign; who know that no Law of God or man inveſts them with any power of Judicature without me, much leſſe againſt me: and who, being ſworn and bound by all that is ſacred before God and man to endeavour my preſervation, muſt pretend juſtice to cover their perjury.

It is, indeed, a ſad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuſers, Parties, and Judges; but moſt deſperate,when this is acted by the inſolence of Subjects againſt their Soveraign, wherein thoſe who have had the chiefeſt hand, and are moſt guilty of contriving the publick Troubles, muſt by ſhedding my bloud ſeeme to waſh their own hands of that

innocent bloud, whereof they are now moſt evidently guilty before God and and man; and I beleeve in their owne conſciences too, while they carried on unreaſonable demands, firſt by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes mean ſpirits more cowardly cruell in managing their uſurped power againſt their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjuſt Uſurpation*; notwithſtanding, thoſe ſpecious and popular pretenſions of Juſtice againſt Delinquents, applied onely to diſguiſe at firſt the monſtrouſneſſe of their deſigns, who deſpaired, indeed, of poſſeſſing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whoſe right it is, be caſt out and ſlaine.

With them, My greateſt fault muſt be, that I would not either deſtroy My ſelf with the Church & State by My Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword; whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of Mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever thinke, that Kingdome of brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall bloud of thoſe, whoſe right the Kingdome is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but My innocency will find him both My Protectour, and My Advocate, who is My onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the eminency of his power and majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them; who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babel*; who build it with the bones and cement it with the bloud of their Kings.

I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themſelves: the injuries I have ſuſtained from them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them, who agreed in nothing ſo much as in oppoſing Me.

Theire inpatience to beare the loud cry of My bloud, ſhall make them thinke no way better to expiate it, than by ſhedding theirs, who with them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad confuſions following My deſtruction, are already preſaged and confirmed to Me by thoſe I have lived to ſee ſince My Troubles; in which, God alone (who onely could) hath many wayes pleaded My Cauſe; not ſuffering them to goe unpuniſhed, whoſe confederacy in ſin was their onely ſecurity; who have cauſe to feare that God will both further divide, and by mutuall vengeance, afterward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death is from the power and love of Chriſt, who hath ſwallowed up Death in the victory of his Reſurrection, and the glory of his Aſcenſion,

My next comfort is, that he gives Me not only the Honor to imitate his example *in ſuffering for righteouſneſſe ſake*, (though the obſcured by the foulest charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute My bloud to them further than to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their Soules from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor of what they pleaſe to call Juſtice; while

while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their own ſafety by My danger, and the ſecurity of their lives and deſignes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſin are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperitie, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from Me, as that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and conſenting to my death are embrued with My bloud.

The will of God hath confined, and concluded Mine; I ſhall have the pleaſure of dying, without any pleaſure of deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſtian towards his Enemies, and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of more than I am content to loſe, when God ſees fit by their hands to take it from Me; whoſe mercy I believe, will more than infinitely recompence whatever by mans injuſtice he is pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending My death will far ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or conceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and envied Crowns of this world, when my God hath mercifully crowned and conſummated his graces with glory; and exchanged the ſhadows of My earthly Kingdomes among men, for the ſubſtance of that heavenly Kingdome with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world; I know the ſharp & neceſſary tyranny of My Deſtroyers, will ſufficiently confute the calumnies of tyranny againſt Me; I am perſwaded I am happy in the judicious love of the ableſt and beſt of My Subjects, who doe not onely

pity

pity and pray for Me, but would be content even to die with Me, or for Me.

Theſe know how to excuſe My failings, as a man, and yet to retain, and pay their duty to Me as their King: there being no religious neceſſity binding any Subjects by pretending to puniſh, infinitely to exceed, the faults and errours of their Princes; eſpecially there, where more than ſufficient ſatisfaction hath beene made to the Publick, the enjoyment of which, private ambitions have hitherto fruſtrated.

Others, I believe of ſofter tempers, and leſſe advantages by My ruine, do already feel ſharp convictions, and ſome remorſe in their Conſciences; where they cannot but ſee the proportions of their evill dealings againſt Me in the meaſure of Gods retaliations upon them, who cannot hope ſo long to enjoy their own thumbs and toes, having under pretence of paring others nails been ſo cruell as to cut off their chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the more inſolent and obſtinate may be like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining againſt both Prince and Prieſt) in ſuch a method of divine juſtice as is not ordinary; the earth of the loweſt and meaneſt people opening upon them and ſwallowing them up in a juſt diſdain of their ill-gotten and worſe uſed Authority: upon whoſe ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly depended for their building and eſtabliſhing their deſignes againſt Me, the Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death conſiſts in My peace, which I truſt is made with God; before whoſe exact Tribunall I ſhall not fear to appear, as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed by the Sword, between Me and My cauſleſſe Enemies: where I doubt not but his righteous Judgement will confute their fallacy who from worldly

Wordly ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, than ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popular concluſions for Gods approbation of their actions; whoſe wiſe providence (we know) oft permits many events, which his revealed Word (the onely cleare, ſafe, and fixed rule of good actions and good Conſcience) in no ſort approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of my Cauſe, and clearneſſe of my Conſcience before God, and toward my People will carry me as much above them in Gods deciſion, as their ſucceſſes have lifted them above me in the Vulgar opinion: who conſider not that many times thoſe undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the proſperitie and applauſe of the world, whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the injuriouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the deſigne. The proſperous winds which oft fills the ſayles of Pirats doth not juſtifie their piracy and rapine.

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedome and Honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the Juſt Liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, than if I had with the greateſt advantages, of ſucceſſe, over-borne them all, as ſome men have now evidently done whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the ſweetning of this bitter cup, which I doubt not but I ſhall more chearfully take, and think as from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) than they can give it to me, whoſe hands are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifted up againſt me.

And as to the laſt event I may ſeem to ow more

to

to my enemies, than my friends; while those will put a period to the sins & sorrows attending this miserable life wherewith these desire I might still contend.

I shall be more than Conquerour through Christ enabling me; for whom I have hitherto suffered: as he is the Authour of Truth, Order, and Peace; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Errour, Faction, and confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with my Saviour, it is but mortality crowned with martyrdome: where the debt of death, which I owe for sinne to nature, shall be raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept; and although death be the wages of my own sin, as from God, & the effect of others sins, as men, both against God & me; yet as I hope my own sins are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sinnes, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophies of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them; than their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: both which I pray God they may obtain; that my temporall death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, than the eternall damnation of the meanest Snbject.

Nor do I wish other, than the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storm themselves have

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soule with my Body: of whose salvation while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despair, they have onely discovered this that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraint, denying me even the assistance of any of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged; than any way obstructed My accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of Eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us, & the merciſull Saviour of us in it, & from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee: than by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of my death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in my Soule, as a Christian.

If thou Lord wilt be with me, I shall neither feare nor feele any evill, though I walke through the valley of the shadow of death.

To contend with Death is the work of a weak and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O my Saviour, who knowest what it is to die with me as a Man; make me to know what it is to passe through death to life with thee my God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou my Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slayest me, yet thou hast incouraged me to trust in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life,

O be not farre from me, for I know not how near a violent and cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhalt conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt Me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from Me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to adde not My will, but thine be done.

Yea Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly reſolving mine into thine: let not the deſire of life in me be ſo great, as that of doing or ſuffering thy will in either life or death.

As I beleeve thou haſt forgiven all the errours of my life, ſo I hope thou wilt ſave me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who haſt made Chriſt unto me in life, gaine; and in death, advantage.

Though my Deſtroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they loſſe their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely reſiſted my juſt Power, but wholly uſurped and turned it againſt my ſelfe, though they may deſerve, yet let them not receive to themſelves damnation.

Thou madeſt thy Sonne a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he ſuffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for my Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Prepare them for thy mercy by due convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damne their owne Soules by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for my blood O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they thinke my Kingdoms on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live farre above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruellest upon me, O let me fall into the armes of thy tender and eternall mercies.

That which is cut off of my life in this miserable moment, may be repayed in thy ever-blessed eternity.

Lord let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seene thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt.

FINIS.